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SOCIAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CHINA FOUNDATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION
AND CULTURE

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LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING

An Analysis of the
Budgets of Sixty Families

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By

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PEKING
SOCIAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
CHINA FOUNDATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
22 NAN CHANG CHIEH

1928

BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

VILLAGE AND TOWN LIFE IN CHINA. in Collaboration with Leong Yew
2nd Edition 1923 George Allen and Unwin

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION (in Chinese) 1922 Commercial Press

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM (in Chinese) 1925 Commercial Press

ETC. ETC. ETC.

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Printed in China by Shao Chang Press Ltd.,
No. 13, Shun Cheng Chieh, Inside Chienmen,
PEKING.

PREFACE

This is issued as one of the studies which have been made possible through a subvention received from the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. It claims to be the first attempt in family budget inquiry in this country conducted for a period of six months, using the account-book method. Since its completion, two similar studies on a much larger scale have been commenced in Tientsin and Shanghai, both being conducted by co-operating bodies of this Department. 122

It is impossible for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to all who have helped me in preparing this book, but mention must be made of Mr. F. C. H. Lee who supervised the investigation, Mrs. S. C. Lee and Mrs. Y. F. Tung who took great pains in supplying the primary data for the present study, and Messrs. Shu-Hsung Wang, Kun-I Cheng and Wen-Tsin Chen who were responsible for all computation work. 000

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Franklin L. Ho, Professor of Statistics at the Nankai University, Tientsin, who has always been ready to put his expert knowledge at my disposal, to Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-chemistry at the Peking Union Medical College, Peking, who has kindly supplied all the data on the food value, and to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, Director of the China Foundation, who has, in spite of his multifarious duties, read and greatly improved the text of this book. [p. 5]

0000 Lastly I ought to make special mention of Mr. Simon Yang, statistician of this Department, for his great assistance in the various stages in the production of this book. In particular, I am indebted to him for his valuable suggestions and services in the preparation of the tables and in proof-reading.

L. K. Tao.

Social Research Department,
China Foundation for the
Promotion of Education and Culture.

Peking, March 19th, 1928.

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[p.7]

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" Poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome."—Pericles.

" Savoir pour prévoir."—Comte.

[p. 8]

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the course of a handicraft workers' survey in Peking conducted by this Department, it was found that in order to obtain a fuller and more intimate knowledge of their living conditions, other means than the schedules which were being used for the survey should be devised. It was thought that the account-book method would serve the purpose, as the accounts, when systematically kept for a sufficiently long period, would undoubtedly furnish more complete data of their living conditions from day to day. Although the account-book is an old institution in this country, the Chinese merchants, for instance, having kept for ages the accounts of their transactions and the officials having made it a practice to report every year the incomes and expenditures item by item of the districts under their administration, the account-book of the workingman's household, however, is something quite novel and has been hitherto unheard of. 125

The idea of adopting the account-book method is more easily conceived than carried out. It was soon realized that the inquiry would be confronted with difficulties. First, account books must be designed so that all items of income and expenditure may be entered in their proper places. While the usual Chinese account gives, as a rule, only sums of money spent, but not quantities purchased with the money, this study should, however, for the sake of accurate accounting, lay equal emphasis on both. Further, under the present system of Chinese currency, with its coppers, cent-pieces and dollars fluctuating sometimes from one day to another with amazing rapidity, the exchange rate of the currency of different denominations must be registered as it is usually the coppers and cent-pieces that the workingmen

125 spend for their purchases. Then there is also the question of weights and measures. In Peking where standard measures have not yet been uniformly adopted, one catty at the grocer's, for instance, may mean only eight-tenths of the standard weight of the Chinese Bureau of Standards. All these facts have to be taken into consideration in the preparation of a good account-book.

124 Secondly, there are needed investigators who have the patience and perseverance to visit every day different families and have also the care and tact to record all the items of their earning and expense. In many countries where workingmen can be pursuaded to keep accounts for themselves, the business of the investigator will be simply to give them advice and check their books. In China, however, this becomes an impossibility since most of them lack even the elementary knowledge of the three R's. Generally speaking, the housekeeper in China as in other countries is a good financier as it is her chief business to spend the slender family income for the support of its members and if there is an insufficiency, also to make the two ends meet. But to keep a clear and accurate statement of all the items of household economy is quite a different thing, since this requires extra effort and special intelligence. Besides, it is too much to expect members of a Chinese working family to keep such accounts, fatigued as they always are after a day's hard work. Consequently, the investigator must take the matter into her own hand and devote all her time to keep accounts for them. Indeed, this is the only practical way of studying the family budget of the working class in this country if one's aim is to obtain accurate figures. Hence, unless and until Chinese labourers are taught to keep their own accounts, the family budget inquiry in China will necessarily be of a limited scope. At the present time, to undertake an inquiry on a very large scale would incur a heavy expense. For instance, if one investigator could take charge of thirty families—this may be considered as the maximum number an investigator could handle, presuming also that the families under investigation all live near together—to

keep accounts for 3,000 families would require a standing force 124
of one hundred investigators. In view of this condition that necessarily circumscribes the Chinese family budget inquiry, it is therefore only natural that in this first attempt one should be contented with but a small number of samples.

Thirdly, with competent investigators and handy account-books, one has still to find households that are willing to receive the investigator day after day and tell her of the details of their earnings and expenses. If it is a universal phenomenon that every family is jealous of an outsider to pry into its conditions of living, how much more resentful would it be, if it has to receive day after day a stranger and to be pestered by all sorts of questions, often very detailed but always exacting, from "what one gets" to "on what one spends?" This is indeed something intolerable. Thus, to win the confidence of the families and to obtain from them full information of their living becomes one of the greatest obstacles in conducting a family budget inquiry.

It is, however, not without reason that the families under 123
investigation are frequently reticent and unwilling to impart information. Apart from the bother and vexation which the daily reception of the investigator by the family necessarily involves, one of the reasons that may be attributed to this attitude is an instinctive fear of being taxed on the part of the family. Although the families under investigation generally lack tax-paying capacity and should necessarily be exempted under any system of taxation, nevertheless, there always lurks among them a strong suspicion that the inquiry is merely a prelude to some levy. For how could they account for the action of these investigators who make day by day so systematic and thorough a study of their economy? In order to dispel their suspicion, explanations regarding the nature of the inquiry must be offered to them in an entirely clear and intelligible way. Another kind of suspicion the inquiry usually arouses among them is that the investigators are taken as communists. While they might be ignorant of the implications of a full-fledged communism, nevertheless, they must have gleaned some notions about it, for in this

age none can fail to get an idea, however crude it may be, of this wide-spread doctrine. In their talk with the families and by way of explanation, the investigators may have to point out that inquiries of this kind would disclose certain facts that challenge the attention of social workers and they may also have to express their views that these inquiries would, in time, lead to improvement and reform of the living and working conditions of the labouring class, but to the people under investigation these utterances would sound very much like what they have heard about communism. In fact, in the course of the present inquiry, an investigator was once asked if she was not an agent sent by the communists! While these people would have nothing to fear from the communists, living on the verge of poverty as they always are, the rigorous measures taken by the authorities in the anti-red campaign, however, have warned them to be careful and not to come into contact with them. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that the people under investigation are usually disinclined to receive the investigator and take her into confidence.

There is, however, another fact which has greatly facilitated the inquiry. It has been a usual practice in Peking for various philanthropic institutions to distribute alms in the winter to destitute families, while police authorities assist them by making a rough survey of the poverty-stricken areas and sending them a list of deserving families for their reference. Thus, many families which took the investigator as an agent of the police would gladly receive her with open arms and furnished her with every information she wanted. It seems that under such conditions the investigator would find no difficulty in obtaining information, but at the same time she must be aware of the fact that the information thus furnished might not be entirely reliable, for with the hope of receiving alms, the family might purposely distort the accounts of its daily life. Consequently, unless the investigator was careful and keenly observant, she might overlook any intentional falsification of the report which the families under investigation supplied to her each day.

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It is not possible to discuss at this place all the problems which arise in a family budget inquiry in this country. Suffice it to say that there are many obstacles and pitfalls, for which those making the inquiry have to look out. The path along which the inquiry has to be conducted may not be at all smooth, nor, however, is it intraversable. From the limited experience which the present inquiry has yielded, it may be concluded that it is essential to let the families under investigation have an intelligent understanding of the nature of the inquiry. Only through such an understanding can the families be expected to co-operate with the investigator and help her bring the inquiry to a successful end. It may therefore be urged that the central problem of the inquiry lies in the choice of competent investigators. With investigators who know how to make clear to the families the nature of their work and to win their confidence, the success of the major part of the inquiry may be assured.

In the selection of the investigator, one has to consider not only the competence of the person but also the nature of the work. At the same time, sex is also an important factor which must not be overlooked, as, generally speaking, different sexes are suited to different vocations. It may be safely stated that in the case of the family budget inquiry which necessitates daily visit to various homes, woman investigators are greatly preferred. In support of this contention, the following reasons may be advanced. Firstly, each household considers its home to be a sacrosanct place where outsiders are generally barred from entrance. This is particularly true in Peking as practically all working families live in a single room which serves a variety of purposes, such as for rest, living, eating and sleeping. Now to have a man, a stranger to the family, come into the room every day would create a very embarrassing situation to the female members of the family. Secondly, the man folks in these families are generally out at work, and it is generally the women who stay in and receive the investigator day by day. Thirdly, it is generally the female member of the family who handles the family income and is mainly responsible for the household

123 economy. At any rate, she alone could tell the minute details of her daily expenses. Fourthly, the nature of the investigation being such as requires constancy, patience and diligence, there is no doubt that the woman as a rule excels the man in these qualities.

124 Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the daily recording of accounts is essentially a routine work. One may perhaps take up the work with zeal and interest at the start, because it gives her a chance to meet people of a different class, to probe into their conditions of life and to discover things which she has never experienced before, but as time goes on and the work becomes routinized, her enthusiasm for it would dwindle. Simultaneously there is often found a corresponding slackening of interest on the part of the people under investigation. Cross-examined day after day with an almost invariable series of questions, they soon begin to get tired of the presence of the investigators. Like the long distance race, inquiry of this kind is often the most difficult when it comes to a later, and particularly the last stage. Thus, unless the families know how to keep their own accounts and find interest in the work, this serious limitation to the inquiry seems to be inevitable.

So far we have dwelt in particular on the problems that are involved in the family budget inquiry of the Chinese working class. For the educated and highly enlightened class, however, budgetary inquiry seems to be much less difficult, since the task of recording the daily accounts may be entirely put into their own hands, after certain instructions having been given them, and consequently both the question of selecting the investigator and the bother and difficulty that usually attend the daily visit to families will not arise so formidably as in the other case. Given a well-designed account-book and provided with detailed directions, an educated person will, as a rule, be able to fill it with accuracy and completeness. Thus, at least, the bookkeeping part of the work of the inquiry is relegated to the families and what remains to those who conduct the inquiry will be confined mainly to canvassing families which volunteer to 124 keep accounts and to analysing and computing the data from the books returned.

Now in the matter of securing families which will and how to keep acoounts, one meets with a serious obstacle. With no inducement whatever, it seems almost impossible to recruit a sufficient number of families that would volunteer to record their daily accounts, except of course those which realize the value and importance of the inquiry and willingly contribute their service to it. After having secured the required number of families that promised to take up the task of book-keeping, there remains still the problem of having the work continued for a considerable length of time. Unless the keeping of the household account is developed in a person into something like a habitual act, it seems almost impossible to expect him to persist in the practice. Thus, although much less work appears to be involved in a budgetary inquiry of the educated class than in that of the working class, yet the effort put forth in securing a sufficient number of such households and in pursuading their interested members to continue with the book-keeping for a considerable time is by no means less arduous.

The present study is an analysis of 300 account-books. Of 128 this number, 288 are the books of working families for six months in 1926-1927, while the rest are those of 12 households of elementary school teachers for the month of November, 1926. It is evident that, by far, the greater amount of useful data are contained in the former set of accounts and consequently we are enabled to devote the greater portion of this book to a study of the standard of living of the working class. The data furnished by the twelve household accounts of elementary school teachers are necessarily meagre and in many cases perhaps partial, as the study is limited to one winter month. Yet from another standpoint, meagre as the data are, they will in a measure throw much light on the living conditions of an important class, which, in China as in every other country, is poorly remunerated, in spite of their

128 valuable services rendered to the nation and, what is more important, to the coming generation. From an analysis of the two sets of household accounts, it may be presumed that certain salient features of livelihood and poverty in Peking will reveal themselves.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Our family budget study covers two classes of Peking inhabitants, the handicraft workers and the elementary school teachers, and as a matter of fact consists of two separate inquiries. In this chapter, we shall describe briefly the procedure and scope of both.

I.

The working class family budget inquiry is, as has been stated, an outgrowth of the handicraft workers' survey in Peking. On August 1st, 1926, just one month after the survey was started, a lady who had some experience as a social worker was employed to keep account for eight families. It was intended to make it merely a trial study with a view to finding out if it was possible to obtain accurate and detailed data of family budgets. The work was continued for one month and by September the number of families was increased to twenty-three. In the meantime, the accounts were examined and criticised at frequent intervals. When it was discovered that the results so far obtained from the accounts proved quite interesting and encouraging, it was then decided to conduct a budgetary study of fifty families for a period of six months, beginning from October 1st, 1926. Besides the investigator who had already been at the work, another lady, a primary school teacher, was employed to have charge of more families. Altogether, accounts of fifty-six families were taken care of between them. The inclusion of so many families was meant to give the inquiry a wide margin, in case some families might drop out for one reason or another just in the midst of the inquiry.

124 Thus, the two investigators went their rounds to these families every day, except Sunday, for seven months and recorded their daily accounts with care and diligence. During the months that the inquiry was conducted, the investigators met the field secretary once every week, presenting their books for scrutiny and criticism and discussing with him questions that arose in the course of their work. Discrepancies that were discovered in the books were either at once corrected after thorough discussion or to be ascertained later by the investigators. In this way were the books kept under supervision continuously for seven months. According to what was arranged, the inquiry ought to have been concluded in March, 1927 but it was found necessary to prolong one more month as some accounts taken in October, 1926, were incomplete and had to be rejected. Altogether 362 books were returned, but excluding those which were either incomplete or inadequate for our purpose either on account of the composition of the family or the nature of the income, only the accounts of forty-eight families, aggregating 288 books in all, were selected for analysis and computation.

During the period of the inquiry, a gift of 100-150 coppers was made to each family every month as compensation for the trouble its members had to take every day. Now as the gift for the six months amounted only to $2.00 to each family, its effect on the families would, therefore, hardly be so much as to change their standard of living. Apart from the gift in money, toys were also presented to the children on festival and new year days, their value being, as a rule, only ten or twenty cents.

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735 While the social aspects of the working families under investigation will be treated in a later chapter, it would be of interest at this juncture to consider their status and see what social or economic class in Peking they may claim to represent. According to an estimate made by the Peking Police Department in December, 1926, the families of the Metropolis were classified under five economic groups and distributed in the following manner.

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Table 1.—Distribution of Families in Peking, by Economic Classes

Class	Peking City	Suburbs	Total
The destitute	24,037	18,946	42,982
The poor	9,730	13,890	23,620
The lower middle	92,394	28,043	120,437
The comfortable	37,559	19,433	56,992
The well-to-do	6,618	3,732	10,350
All Classes	170,338	84,044	254,382

It should be observed that the classification is arbitrary and the classes are not so distinct as they seem to appear. First of all, as far as we can gather, no clear and official definition seemed to have been given to the classes. And it is doubtful if the families were all entered properly in their respective classes, since the enumerator was not guided by any well-defined conception of economic classes. However, these figures may be taken as on the whole approximate, because the estimate was made by the police authorities with a view to studying the extent of poverty in Peking—the estimate being made once every year in early winter—and to planning out relief work in winter months. Accordingly the destitute were understood as absolutely penniless and having no means of livelihood, the poor as those whose incomes are insufficient even for the bare subsistence of their members unless they are supplemented by gifts or relief, and the lower middle class as those whose incomes are narrowly sufficient to cover their daily living expenses. Such being the general, though somewhat crude, conceptions of the three lower classes, it is interesting to note, however, that the poor and the lower middle classes, according to the estimation of the police, correspond roughly to the "primary poverty" and "secondary poverty" classes of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree.[1]

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[1] See *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, Chapter IV, London, 1901. Those live in primary proverty "whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency," and in secondary poverty "whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful."

565 The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight
735 families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

431 In this connection, it is important to note the prominent
565 place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes.
735 A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

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[1] See Appendix I.

Table 2.—Average Surplus and Deficit of 48 Families in Six Months According to Earnings and Total Incomes Separately.

Income group	Number of Families	Earnings minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according to earnings	Total income minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according total income
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount	
Under $70	3	—	—	3	$15.50	−$15.50	1	$1.67	2	$10.79	−$6.64
$70 & under $110...	28	7	$6.44	21	12.73	− 7.94	15	6.17	13	6.75	+ .18
$110 & under $150...	14	5	7.80	9	17.72	− 8.60	8	15.16	6	8.41	+ 5.06
$150 & under $190...	3	2	9.00	1	12.91	+ 1.70	3	10.26	—	—	+10.26
All incomes	48	14	7.29	34	14.30	− 8.00	27	9.12	21	7.61	+ 1.80

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565 735 431 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus offered are by no means different from relief, except that the donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 735 434 Another way of determining the economic status of each family would be to study the earnings received by its members and see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 735 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

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[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

remaining portion undoubtedly belong to the poor class. Con- 565
sequently, our study of the living conditions of the forty-eight 735
families may claim to represent that class of the working population in Peking which, bordering on the edge of poverty, is, according to circumstances, either dependent on some form of relief or just in a position to maintain a meagre existence.

In fact, this class constitutes an enormous portion of the Peking inhabitants, as it includes not only most of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, such as street hawkers, handicraft workers, and rickshamen, but even some policemen of the lower rank, servants and assistants in small stores. According to a conservative estimate, at least 60,000 families or 270,000 inhabitants of Peking are living under such conditions as our study represents.

II.

The family budget inquiry of the Peking elementary school 125
teachers was instituted in October, 1926. As almost all the elementary schools are under the control or supervision of the Bureau of Education of Peking, arrangement was therefore first of all made with the authorities of the Bureau to enlist teachers who would be willing to keep their daily accounts. A mimeographed leaflet describing the nature and importance of the study was circulated among different schools. As a result, sixty-six teachers, of whom four were women, volunteered to record their own accounts for a period not less than one month. They were then invited to a meeting in which account books were distributed and instructions given. As the account was to be kept only for the month of November, 1926, they were further requested to fill a separate sheet giving the estimate of various items of income and expenditure for the past twelve months, so that items which the month's account could not justly typify might be checked or readjusted according to the estimate of the year. Of the sixty-six teachers who volunteered to keep records, twenty-five returned their accounts promptly a few days after they were completed. After a careful examination of these accounts, twelve were found

125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

875 However, our study of the standard of living of elementary
511 school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a
565 whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered 875
as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" pro- 511
fession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many 565
aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking.

III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books 125
specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts:

1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by the

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Facsimile of

Date	day of the week	Coppers per dollar	
		Cent-pieces per dollar	
Date (old calendar)	festival day	Coppers per cent-piece	

Money Income

Source	
	Coppers
	Cent-pieces
	Dollars
Total in dollars	

Income in kind

Source	Kind	Price estimated
Value in terms of money		

Grand total in dollars

What has happened to-day in this family?

Remarks:

Expenditure

Item
Total
Grand total in dollars

the Account

persons taking meals at home	
persons not taking meals at home	
persons sleeping at home	

Quantity	Coppers			Cent-pieces	Dollars			

125 family, excluding clothes; (5) surplus after spending for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), deficit for each of the last two years and the current year (rough estimate), balance between income and expenditure equal for each of these three years; (6) forecast of the economic conditions of the family in the future. Space is left for the investigator to put down remarks concerning conditions of the family, if she finds any.

The general schedule is to be entered by the investigator and is intended either to supplement or to counter-check the monthly account of each family.

3. A sample of book-keeping. All the items of a day's amount are properly entered as an illustration of the directions.

4. Thirty-three pages of account sheets. This is the main body of the book in which the investigator records the daily accounts.

5. Summary of the accounts. These pages are to be entered by the computors, when all the accounts are classified and computed.

CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592 596

In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

805 In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805 128 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

Chinese system of measures and scales would wreck many a study which involves quantitative determination. It is perhaps a truism to state that the family budget inquiry, being a quantitative study, is determined for its success mainly by the existence of adequate and reliable standards of measurement. In a country where certain measurements of daily use, such as scales and weights, have already been standardised and universally adopted throughout the whole extent of its realm, such a study is greatly facilitated by the fact that one is not bothered by any measurement problem. The Chinese scales and measures, however, are full of confusion. All who have been conducting the present inquiry have, therefore, to determine the various measures which are used in recording the daily accounts.

The fundamental trouble with the Chinese measures appears to be that they are not uniform, though they have, as a matter of fact, definite systems.[1] Broadly speaking, not only there are as many measures as there are districts or localities, but there may be as many measures as there are things to be measured. It has been said that for the foot measure alone, its variety in Peking is sixty. This, doubtless, is an exaggeration, as according to an investigation conducted in 1912 by the Chihli Commercial Museum, only forty-two kinds of foot measures were found in the whole province. As a matter of fact, there must exist more varieties than this, for in the absence of any effective governmental control or supervision and in view of the crudity of the manufacturing process of Chinese measures, it is reasonable to suppose that they are all more or less different from one another. Below are given the principal weight and length measures prevailing in Peking with their metric equivalents:

Weights	*Lengths Measures*
One *kwan-ping* catty=604.5 grams	Tailor's foot-rule=33.2 cm.
One *ku-ping* catty=596.8 grams	New official foot-rule=31.9 cm.
One *ching-ping* catty=562.8 grams	Builder's foot-rule=31.2 cm.

It will be seen that the difference between the various measures is quite wide, and that still wider differences would be

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[1] Cf., for instance, D. K. Lieu, *China's Industries and Finance*, pp. 115-120, Peking, 1927.

804 found, if the same measures in the whole province are checked up. In this investigation the *ching-ping* catty and the builder's foot-rule are used, both being standard measures in Peking stores,—the former for the grocers and flour-dealers and the latter for the drapers—and for the purpose of presentation the data of these measures are all reduced to their metric equivalents.

CURRENCY

436 Although this is hardly the place to discuss in detail the Chinese currency system, yet some observations on it are needed for an understanding of the nature of incomes and expenses of various families. Yuan, the silver dollar, is the standard money in this country. Though the tael still survives and is used in a great many business transactions, yet the yuan is indisputably the most universal medium of exchange. Theoretically, one yuan or dollar is equal to one hundred cents usually known as "big money", for which are issued, as token money, copper coins of two denominations of the nominal value of one and two cents each—this applies only to Peking, and north China generally, as systems of copper coinage vary in different parts of this country—and silver coins of two denominations of the nominal value of ten and twenty cents each. The Chinese dollar, it should be pointed out, is treated as a commodity and its value is determined by the amount of silver it contains. Because the small silver coins, originally issued as token money, and later known as "small money", contain much less amount of silver in proportion to the denominations they represent and have been freely minted in several provinces in great quantities, their value is, therefore, not determined by what they designate nominally but mainly by their metallic content and by their supply. Thus, in actual fact, ten ten-cent-pieces or dimes are only worth nine-tenths of one yuan and sometimes less, though, in theory, the depreciation is unwarranted. As regards the coppers, which are also coined in abundance in different provinces, their value is also generally determined both by their supply and their metallic

value. An over-production of copper coins brings at once with 436
it a fall in their value and consequently more coppers may be exchanged for one silver dollar. In other words, both the copper and the ten-cent-pieces have entirely lost their virtues as token money and are subject to constant fluctuation in their exchange to the yuan. As an illustration of the remarkable phenomenon of 436
copper inflation, the following instance may be quoted. Ten 458
years ago, one dollar could only be exchanged to 150 coppers in Peking, while the present rate has risen to more than 370 coppers. Below is given the monthly average exchange rate of the silver dollar to coppers and silver ten-cent-pieces or dimes for the six months during which the family accounts were kept.

Month	Coppers per yuan	Cent-pieces per yuan
November	365	11.70
December	369	11.59
January	379	11.97
February	384	11.90
March	383	12.11
April	383	12.43

It should be noted that while the sudden jolts and swerves of the exchange rate were not much in evidence, nevertheless its constant fluctuating conditions must have had serious effects upon the incomes and expenses of different families.

In the accounts of the various families, monies of different denominations were recorded just as they were received or spent; but in the computation of the data they had all to be converted according to their monthly average exchange rate to silver dollars or a fraction thereof. Of the working families, some received their wages in silver yuan, while others, such as rickshamen and most of the handicraft workers, received them in coppers. In their expenditure, they had to pay dollars or their equivalents in coppers for rent and articles, such as imported and manufactured goods whose prices are always fixed on the dollar basis and are generally quoted in dollars and cents (big money), while for purchases of certain commodities such as vegetables

436 458 whose prices are generally quoted in coppers, they pay coppers, because they are the currency most commonly used for small purchases. On the whole, it may be observed that all prices are fixed on the dollar basis, though some respond immediately to the changing rate of the copper exchange, while others lag a little behind. Now under such complicated and perplexing conditions, earners of small incomes easily become poor victims. They are squeezed right and left, whenever there is any fluctuation in the exchange rate between the three kinds of coins. Thus, if the value of the copper falls, the purchaser, if he happens to be a copper-earner, has either to pay more in coppers or to receive less in commodities because of the shortage in weight, a practice which the clever retailer very often resorts to, when he finds his profit is threatened. In both cases, the purchaser has to lose. Nor does he gain anything, if the value of the copper rises. For then the price may not fall simultaneously and he will have to pay the same amount of coppers as before. The dollar-earner seems to be in a better condition, though he, too, has to make small purchases in coppers and consequently is subject to the same disadvantages as the copper-earners, as far as his day-to-day copper spending and exchange is concerned.

Another factor in the monetary system in Peking that sometimes works havoc on the economy of our working families is the copper notes and dollar notes. The latter are seldom possessed by them but the notes in denominations of 10, 20, 50 and 100 coppers have been very widely used, because they are convenient to carry. It occurred in the past that such copper notes at first depreciated and were exchanged at a discount and then finally they became entirely inconvertible and hence valueless. During such a crisis, copper notes passed most rapidly from one hand to another, and as likely as not it was the working class that received the blow heavily unless they refused to take or keep them altogether. And it must be considered fortunate that in the course of our investigation no such paper note crisis has been experienced.

436 It is not our concern here to relate all the details of the

Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics. 436

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various families, the following definitions are adopted. 434

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services 511 or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of

511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

435 437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

There were, besides, certain commodities which are always 435
sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity 437
they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out.

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have 128
to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been 511
made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows:

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

ACCURACY OF DATA

128 While every effort has been made by us to aim at accurate accounting during the whole period of the working family inquiry, it is still not possible to claim absolute accuracy for all the data in the books. Indeed, the investigation may be said to have been conducted under very favourable circumstances. Firstly, the investigators have executed their work with a conscientiousness that is most creditable. Secondly, throughout the inquiry, no wilful deception was discovered on the part of the housewife when supplying information. Thirdly, the sums handled being as a rule small, there was less likelihood of faulty accounting. Nevertheless, it is possible that errors might still have crept into one important item, viz. the income. It is possible that some members might keep a part of their earnings to themselves for personal spending and consequently that part of the earnings would appear neither on the income nor on the expenditure column in our accounts. Special attention has, therefore, been paid to this particular matter which, if it had happened in all the families, would have rendered the whole inquiry entirely worthless, and throughout the inquiry, the housewife was constantly asked to find out the earnings and purchaset which did not go through her own hands. On the whole, is was discovered that such a practice as retaining part of the earnings for one's own use was rather rare and it was only the younger members of the family and some rickshamen who failed occasionally to report a part of their earnings which they spent on buying food from the vendors. However, these were always inquired into and corrected accordingly, and it was found that, in particular, the amount of money spent by the rickshamen and also the food articles purchased by them could be accurately ascertained. Taking all the families together, the degree of inaccuracy in the figures for either the income or the expenditure can hardly be said to be beyond 5 per cent. As to those which were within the knowledge of the housewives, they may be said to be entirely accurate.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east 361
side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows:

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed 162
in the following manner.

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Race	Number of Families	Per cent
Chinese	25	52
Manchus	12	25
Mohammedans	11	23
Total	48	100

It will be seen that Chinese predominated, being more than one half of the families under investigation. Though China claims to include five different races, yet as far as the inhabitants in China Proper are concerned, their difference is by no means so significant as is generally supposed. Both Manchus and Mohammedans, as is well-known, have acquired the Chinese mode of life after they migrated and made their home in the midst of the Chinese. While one may detect a southern Chinese on a Peking street from the dialect he speaks, none, however, can tell a Peking Manchu from a Peking Chinese, or a Peking Mohammedan from either, the difference of their habits of life, whatever they are, having become unnoticeable. Consequently, the racial factor in an inquiry like this can hardly be said to be of much import.

162 563 It has however been constantly urged that the three racial stocks under consideration have different social habits, thus affecting their standard of living. Chinese, it is claimed, are generally more industrious, being able to stand heavy work and poorer kinds of food, while Manchus, being used to receive pensions from the government under the Manchu regime and consequently to an easy and comfortable life, are, as a rule, less energetic and less frugal than Chinese. Mohammedans, however, are also handicapped, because they are circumscribed by religious customs and are unable to compete with their Chinese neighbours. These observations are no doubt interesting, though it should be borne in mind that these characteristics can scarcely be considered as racial or biological and that they hold true, if at all, only in a very general way. In fact, difference in

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great 162
as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 563

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation.. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight 162
families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members.

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five 592
births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under 596
two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the

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[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

592 596 size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent	Member relationship	Number	Per cent
3	9	18.7	Heads of families	47	21.4
4	16	33.4	Wives	47	21.4
5	12	25.0	Sons	60	27.2
6	9	18.7	Daughters	46	20.9
7	1	2.1	Mothers	5	2.3
8	1	2.1	Brothers	2	0.9
			Sisters	3	1.4
Total	48	100.0	Daughter-in-law	1	0.5
			Grand daughter	1	0.5
			Nephews (brother's sons)	2	0.9
			Nephew (sister's son)	1	0.5
			Niece (sister's daughter)	1	0.5
			Grandson (daughter's son)... ...	1	0.5
			Cousin (aunt's son)	1	0.5
			Wife's sister	1	0.5
			Son's betrothed	1	0.5
			Total	220	100.0

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AGE AND SEX

The age distribution of the members in the forty-eight families is interesting and merits attention. Thirty-nine of the heads of the families were between thirty and sixty years of age—of these twenty-one were in the 30-39 age interval—and the same number of wives were between twenty and fifty years of age. None of the husbands and wives were under twenty years. On the other hand, three-fourths of the sons were under fifteen, so were also five-sixths of the daughters. The other members were practically evenly distributed in the different age groups.

Table 4.—Age Distribution

Age Group	Heads of Families	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ...	—	—	13	13	2	28
5- 9	—	—	17	9	2	28
10-14	—	—	15	16	2	33
15-19	—	—	8	7	1	16
20-29	4	10	6	1	3	24
30-39	21	19	1	—	2	43
40-49	12	10	—	—	2	24
50-59	6	5	—	—	2	13
60-69	3	2	—	—	3	8
70-79	1	1	—	—	1	3
All ages ...	47	47	60	46	20	220

It will be seen that both the husbands and the wives have become maturer in age, while the sons and daughters after 20 years of age have either been married into other families or established independent households of their own. On the whole, it may be said that the able-bodied were in the majority; persons from 15 to 60 amounted to 120, while persons below 15 and beyond 60 combined amounted only to 100.

Of the 220 members, the two sexes were practically equally divided, viz. 114 males and 106 females. Male members exceeded female members by eight.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups. 464 462

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

Age group		Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
Total		14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
Total		14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives, 464 857

Table 6.—Occupations of the Employed Persons

Occupation	Male members		Total	Occupation	Female members		Total
	Husbands	Others			Wives	Others	
Rickshamen	32	9	41	Sock finishers	6	17	23
Apprentices	—	6	6	Artificial flower makers	9	4	13
Coal pickers	—	3	3	Yarn spinners	7	5	12
Artificial flower makers	1	1	2	Seamstresses	11	—	11
Carriers	1	1	2	Yarn winders	2	3	5
Waiters	1	1	2	Wind glasses finishers	—	2	2
Shop assistants	2	—	2	Hair net finishers	1	1	2
Yarn winder	—	1	1	Maidservants	2	—	2
Yarn spinner	—	1	1	Chinese cap finishers	1	—	1
Tailor	1	—	1	Midwife	1	—	1
Barber	1	—	1	Matches hawker	1	—	1
Printer	—	1	1	Cross-stich workers	—	1	1
Gelatine maker	1	—	1				
Tinker	1	—	1	All occupations	41	33	74
Worker at a manure store	—	1	1				
Dustman	1	—	1				
Cart driver	—	1	1				
Carriage driver	1	—	1				
Vegetable hawker	—	1	1				
Guide	1	—	1				
Policeman	1	—	1				
All occupations	45	27	72				

he is, therefore, decidedly a person with an occupation. Coal- 464
picking is likewise considered an occupation, because it is some 857
service rendered generally by the children in order either to save for the family some expense on fuel or through selling it to add some income to the family. Though, strictly speaking, both are not occupations as is generally understood, yet they are undeniably gainful employment from the standpoint of the family.

From Table 6, one finds that more than half of the employed 463
males were rickshamen, while four-fifths of the employed females were engaged in sock-finishing, artificial flower-making, yarn-spinning and tailoring. It should be observed that the persons listed in this table had frequently more than one occupation, for employments of a similar nature or requiring little skill are often exchangeable. Thus, the yarn-spinner might, at times, take up yarn-spinning, while the rickshaman might temporarily turn into a carrier. That there should have been such a strong representation of women in manual occupations may be explained by the fact that the households for which the accounts were kept were selected with a view to supplementing the study of the Peking handicraft trades. They earned their pittance, in order to make some contribution to the insufficient income of their husbands or sons. As regards the gainfully employed males, however, their occupations were diversified, though the rickshamen alone represented one half of them. The fact that there should have been so many rickshamen in the samples taken up by the inquiry is not only interesting but calls for some consideration. Though it should be confessed that such a predominance of rickshamen among the employed males was quite unexpected, yet after a careful study of the labour conditions of Peking in general and of its manual workers in particular, the phenomenon was in fact not so peculiar or abnormal as it appeared. In order to enable one to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss briefly at this juncture a few outstanding facts concerning labour in Peking.

In the first place, the handicraft trades, of which a study was made by this Department, were essentially those of women. In

463 only exceptional cases could such manual work, like yarn-spinning
or sock-finishing, as was generally done at home by women for
a pitiable amount of remuneration, enable a family to depend
entirely upon it for even a bare subsistence, not to say, a comfortable
living. Whether it was through the insufficient remuneration
of the women home workers that men had to apply themselves
to certain jobs or it was because of the earnings of men being too
low that women had to take up manual work and earn money to
supplement those of the men, it is immaterial for us to go into in
the present discussion. All that need be said is that the men, if
able-bodied and having the responsibility of maintaining their families,
were compelled to seek and pursue some trade. Unhappily
Peking is not yet in a position to provide for them opportunities
of industrial employment that would give them an adequate return
for their exertions, as it is still backward in modern industrial
development and possesses no factories whose employment of
494 workers is worth speaking of. Now, of all the trades that are
463 most easily accessible, it is clear that none surpasses ricksha
pulling, for it requires very little practice and nothing but sheer
muscular energy. Nor does it call for any capital outlay except
a small amount to be paid every day for the hire of the ricksha.
It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that enormous numbers of
the unemployed and the unskilled are either attracted or driven
to this inhuman form of human motor transportation. In short,
the ricksha pulling trade in Peking resembles a big labour reservoir
to which flows all labour force—the unskilled, the semi-skilled
and even the skilled that sometimes find themselves
temporarily out of work—and from which is drafted labour force
of one kind or another, whenever there is demand for it.

The number of rickshamen has been estimated in round numbers at 50,000 in January 1927 and a later figure puts it at 40,000. Without inquiring into the absolute accuracy of these figures, it may be definitely claimed that persons engaged in pulling rickshas far exceeded those of any other occupation in Peking, for, according to a rough survey of our investigators made in November 1927, the persons engaged in such important

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 463
12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha 494
pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done 466
in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

person, say the rickshaman or the shop-assistant, is not actually occupied with work, the watchful waiting as is required of him will still demand from him some physical exertion, of which a person having a rest is generally spared. What is maintained here is that as most employments in this country have not yet been subjected to the discipline of something like the modern factory management, the working hours of such employment must not be so construed as to represent continuous, serious exertion. In other words, apart from factory work under modern management, any attempt to compare working hours in China with those in other countries should be made with caution.

The criticism against the working hours of the Chinese labourer may, of course, be applied with equal force to the working days, for the latter, as is to be expected, are necessarily also of uneven intensity. Yet the statistics of working days differs at least in one respect from that of working hours, and, that is it reveals the conditions of employment. Below is given the table on the hours and days of work of the gainfully employed persons during the six months.

Table 7.—Average Hours and Days of Work in Six Months (181 days), by Age Groups

Age group	Males			Females		
	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days
5-9	3	3.7	7	3	4.3	140
10-14	7	9.9	124	15	5.5	144
15-19	8	10.1	172	8	6.8	149
20-29	11	10.0	169	12	6.3	125
30-39	22	9.4	172	19	7.4	146
40-49	12	8.9	166	9	6.9	116
50-59	6	7.7	138	4	6.0	146
60 and over	3	8.0	125	4	6.3	111
All ages ...	72	9.1	154	74	6.4	137

On the average, the female workers had much shorter working hours than the male. This discrepancy may be attributed to the

fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the 466
work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing.

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as 466
no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has 527
made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood.

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 465 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50
434 462 465 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

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[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

Table 8.—Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average income per family from earnings of —				Total average earnings per family	Average income from —				Total average income other than from earnings	Total average income per family
		Husband	Wife	Children	Others		Presents and gifts	Relief	Rents	Other sources		
Under $70...	3	$18.96	$17.25	$19.58	—	$55.78	$6.43	$0.15	—	$2.29	$8.86	$64.65
$70 and nnder $110	28	60.82	8.21	12.89	$0.26	82.18	7.20	.47	—	.44	8.11	90.29
$110 and under $150	14	63.55	10.31	25.36	11.70	110.92	4.65	.96	$7.44	.62	13.66	124.58
$150 and under $190	3	55.52	2.60	96.71	—	154.83	4.82	.04	3.70	—	8.57	163.40
All incomes	48	58.67	9.04	22.18	3.56	93.45	6.26	.57	2.40	.58	9.81	103.26
						PER CENT						
Under $70...	6.3	29.3	26.7	30.3	—	86.3	9.9	.2	—	3.5	13.7	100.0
$70 and under $110	58.3	67.4	9.1	14.3	.3	91.0	8.0	.5	—	.5	9.0	100.0
$110 and under $150	29.2	51.0	8.3	20.4	9.4	89.0	3.7	.8	6.0	.5	11.0	100.0
$150 and under $190	6.3	34.0	1.6	59.2	—	94.8	2.9	(1)	2.3	—	5.2	100.0
All incomes	100.0	56.8	8.8	21.5	3.4	90.5	6.1	.6	2.2	.6	9.5	100.0

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[1] Less than 0.05 per cent.

462 434 465 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower than that of a man.

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As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

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Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsiderable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

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[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

434 431 Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas.

511 As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent.

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

312 511 Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the

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[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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Table 9.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in Six Months for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 48 Families, by Income Groupr

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	
Under $70	3	3.67	2.60	$47.75	$8.00	$1.03	$10.74	$3.75	$71.28
$70 and under $110 ...	28	4.18	2.98	63.68	7.59	5.20	10.72	2.92	90.12
$110 and under $150 ...	14	5.36	4.09	87.02	7.81	8.72	12.62	3.35	119.52
$150 and under $190 ...	3	5.67	4.50	107.74	6.80	20.77	13.91	3.91	153.13
All incomes	48	4.58	3.38	72.25	7.63	6.94	11.48	3.16	101.45
	PER CENT								
Under $70	6.3	....	....	67.0	11.2	1.5	15.1	5.3	100.0
$70 and under $110 ...	58.3	....	....	70.7	8.4	5.8	11.9	3.2	100.0
$110 and under $150 ...	29.2	....	....	72.8	6.5	7.3	10.6	2.8	100.0
$150 and under $190 ...	6.3	....	....	70.4	4.4	13.6	9.1	2.6	100.0
All incomes	100.0	....	....	71.2	7.5	6.8	11.3	3.1	100.0

well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190	3	8.75	749
All incomes	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

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[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

374 511 other months when coal balls are only used for cooking purposes, the quantity consumed must be considerably less. Owing to the disorganization of transportation facilities around Peking, which has become almost chronic in recent years, Peking residents have constantly been threatened with coal shortage and as a consequence, the price of coal has almost doubled within the last few years. The average price of coal balls during the period of our investigation was about sixty-six cents per 100 catties or 56.3 kilograms.

The rising cost of coal balls had no doubt an adverse effect upon the families under investigation. Coupled with their low rate of earnings, it has automatically raised the percentage of their expenses on fuel and light enormously.

511 The miscellaneous group comprises eleven items. Of these, a few require a word of explanation. Thus, medical expenses included doctors' fees and medicine, while sanitary expenses covered soap, tooth-brush, hairdressing, and bathing. Toilet articles were made up of face-powder, hair oil, rouge and other things which the female members of the family habitually use for their toilet. Under tea and tobacco came also alcoholic drinks. Social expenses consisted of presents in money or in kind to friends or relatives. Rates were paid every month to the police for street lighting and cleaning, while contributions were sums given for charity or to the church. Sundries included expenses for celebrating festivals and the new year and also for other purposes not to be classified under the other ten items. Under the same heading was included also money spent on children, which generally meant refreshments and toys.

It has already been shown in Table 9 that the expenses for the miscellaneous group formed but a little more than 3 per cent of the total average expense per family. Now in Table 11 are shown the expenses of all the items of this group in detail. Except tea and tobacco and sundries, no item in this group figured as much as 1 per cent. Tea was consumed by forty-four families, amounting to $33.15; cigarettes and tobacco by fourteen

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[1] Cf. Meng and Gamble: *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1909-1924*, special supplement to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July 1926. pp. 56-59.

Table 11.—Average Amount of Expenditure in Six Months for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Incomes group	Number of families	Average expenses per family for—											Total
		Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	
Under $70	3	$0.20	—	$0.03	$0.02	$0.01	$0.06	—	$0.34	$0.02	—	$3.26	$3.75
70 and under $110	28	.35	$0.03	.05	.09	.12	1.06	$0.02	.26	.04	$0.03	.88	2.92
110 and under $150	14	.64	.04	.08	.11	.05	.87	—	.32	.01	(1)	1.21	3.35
150 and under $190	3	.90	.02	—	.26	.07	1.38	—	.51	.01	—	.77	3.91
All incomes	48	.45	.03	.05	.10	.09	.96	.01	.30	.03	.02	1.12	3.16

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[1] Less than $0.005

511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

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426 Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

Borrowing money from strangers or relatives with or without payment of interest on the sums borrowed is perhaps most commonly resorted to by working people, when they are in need. 426

Pawning may be considered as a form of borrowing. The loan is made by pledging some article as security against future repayment. There are at present eighty-seven pawnshops in Peking, forming the most easily accessible money-lending agencies to the needy. Such articles, as jewels, silver or gold ornaments, clothing etc. may be offered as securities, but among the poor families, clothing is mostly used. The loan so made from the pawnshop generally represents only one-fourth of the original cost of the pledged article. The period of redemption is fixed at two years, but on expiry it may be renewed for another two years if the interest is paid to date. The rate of interest on the loan is 3 per cent per month, that is, 36 per cent per annum, a fraction of a month exceeding five days being counted as one whole month. It may be presumed that, as a rule, a great number of the pawned articles is foreclosed and the pawnshop affords facilities only to those who could redeem their things in time. The chief clientele of the pawnshop are the poor.

A returned loan constitutes another kind of receipt. It differs from borrowing in the fact that its process is just the reverse of the latter. It also resembles the drawing of funds from a loan society after the subscriptions have all been paid up, but it differs from the latter in the fact that the funds of the loan society might be drawn in advance of the payment of the monthly subscriptions. Considering the straitened circumstances under which the working families usually live, it is only natural that the loans they are in a position to make to others should be very small indeed. In fact, the average sums lent by our forty-eight families were negligible. Consequently the repayment of the loans made by others was also insignificant.

One form of contracting a loan is by way of joining some mutual aid or loan society. The society is formed by a limited number of persons, each of whom is required to pay a fixed sum per month and the money so collected is given each month to one 426

426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

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434 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1) loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from—						Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family						Av. cash in hand
		Loans etc.				Total of loans etc.	Income		Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc				
		Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing						Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	[1]	.25	5.27
	PER CENT														
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	[2]	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	[2]	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	[2]	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

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426 511 434 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans, though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 434 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

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[1] See the last column of Table 12.

the higher is its percentage of income on the total average 511
receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the 434
proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been 465
considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the 511
members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneons	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents......	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total......	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two. 465 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the 511 families has been made only according to the level of their in- 434 comes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of 465 which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living.

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equl. adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38 32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
										49.43	18.00	2595

valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the 511
average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food 434
expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all 465
followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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511 of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more
434 members there are in the family, more expenses must be used
465 for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food
percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OR LOCALITIES REVIEWED

Our analysis of the expenditure of the forth-eight families reveals the extremely deplorable conditions of their life. While the primary necessities of life which include food, clothing, shelter and fuel, light and water constituted almost 97 per cent, food alone formed more than 70 per cent of the total average expenses per family. Hardly any money, it seems, was left to the family for securing things other than the bare necessities of life. Education, recreation, social intercourse, appreciation of art and literature, in short, all the blessings that the modern civilized man is heir to are almost wholly denied them. It is indeed a terrible life, if it implies nothing but an animal existence. In this connection, it seems that a review of the distribution of expenditure of working classes in other countries would be pertinent to a more thorough understanding of the living conditions of our working families.

It is obvious that any direct comparison of figures regarding the cost of living between any two peoples must be made with the greatest caution, since inquiries might be conducted on different lines, for different classes of persons and at different times; besides, conditions relating to the standard of living, general economic situation, prices and wage scales are in no two cases exactly alike. All this, however, does not prevent us from quoting figures for the cost of living of working classes in other countries, since our aim is to bring out the striking contrast of the distribution of expenditure in different countries rather than to institute any direct comparison of the conditions under which working populations of different countries live. Obviously, all such factors as industrial development, economic structure, political organization, general intelligence etc. which not only affect but also determine the living conditions of the people, should be dismissed from our consideration.

According to the inquiries made by the British Board of Trade during the years 1907 to 1910 for studying the cost of

511 living of the working families in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the United States and Germany, the proportion of income spent on food was in all cases much lower than that in the Peking working families. In Australia, this is still more reduced, as according to Knibbs, the percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the average income for the groups having income of £200 and under and families of more than four members was 36 per cent in 1911. The figures[1] for the various countries may be shown in the following table.

Percentages of Food Expenditure on Average Income for Labourers

Peking	France	United Kingdom	Belgium	Germany	United States	Australia
70.0	59.7	57.0	56.9	54.4	53.7	36.0

The distribution of groups of expenses adopted by the British Ministry of Labour since 1914 for constructing the cost of living index numbers somewhat approximates that of our Peking working families. The distribution of groups is as follows: food, 60 per cent, housing 16 per cent, clothings 12 per cent, fuel and light 8 per cent, other items 4 per cent. It is said that this distribution of income is close to that of Rowntree's "Physical efficiency minimum,"[2] but higher figures for the food percentage vis-a-vis the total income at times in obtained Great Britain. Thus, the Sumner Committee calculated that in June, 1918, the food percentage for the skilled labourers was 60.5 per cent, for the semiskilled 63.4 per cent, and for the unskilled 64.9 per cent. According to Rowntree, "the poorest class of workers in York, with 18s. a week or less, spent 73.5 per cent of their income on food and 22.3 per cent on rent." If this were so, then, only 4.2 per cent would be left for such items as clothing and fuel and light. As the percentage of food expense in normal times is a rough indication of the level of income, it seems that the condition of our Peking working families, relatively speaking, is not of the very worst. However, it should be borne in mind that the distribution of the cost of living is to be studied in relation to the social, industrial and political conditions under which a people live. For instance, any two peoples may spend the same proportion of their income for food, yet even if we assume that food prices as well as other things are practically the same in the two places, the people living in a country where stringent laws against adulterated foods are enforced would undoubtedly get more out of their food expenses. Similarly, any people enjoying state provision of educational facilities would receive much more from their educational expenses, no matter how insignificant they may be, than those who are burdened with a heavy expenditure for the education of the young on account of the lack of such state provision. All this goes to show that such state and municipal activities or undertakings as tend in the long run to reduce the cost of living of the people in some form are to be strongly commended.

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[1] The percentage figures are taken from G. H. Knibbs, *Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Australia, 1910-11*. p. 14.

[2] For this and the following figures in this paragraph, see Norman Dearle, *The Cost of Living*, London, 1926. pp. 58-59. This is an intelligent discussion of the cost of living with particular reference to its measurement and history in Great Britain.

As is to be expected, in all the family budget studies of working people in the United States, the distribution of the family expenditure over the various groups of consumable goods showed a very marked improvement. The percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the total expenditure was invariably low, while the money spent for sundries at times attained as high as 26.4 per cent.[1]

Now if we turn to Japan, where many family budget studies have been conducted, we find that the prevailing tendency of the distribution of expenditure was to allot more than 70 per cent to what is known as necessary living expenses.[2] The following figures taken from a summary which appeared in a report of

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[1] For a detailed analysis of all the budgetary studies in the United States previous to 1920, see *Family Budgets of American Wage Earners.* National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report No. 41, 1921.

[2] In most of the Japanese inquiries, the cost of living is divided into three kinds, primary, secondary and tertiary. The first corresponds with

511 a survey on the cost of living of the Japanese employees of the South Manchurian Railway,[1] may perhaps be of interest :—

Inquiry	Primary living expenses	Cultural Expenses	
		Secondary living expenses	Tertiary living expenses
	per cent	*per*	*cent*
Kyo-Cho-Kai 1921-22	51.61	13.92	34.47
Nagoya Municipality 1922 ...	55.97	15.84	28.19
Kanagawa Prefecture 1910-11	80.00 (approx.)	15.00	5.00
Yokosuka Dockyard 1910 ...	72.30	27.67	
Nagasaki Dockyard 1912 (?) ...	69.70	30.30	
Osaka Municipality 1910 ...	74.07	25.93	
Dr. Takano 1916	72.62	27.38	
Tokyo Prefecture 1919	71.40	29.10	
Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce 1910 (?)	74.07	26.01	

Lastly, the results of a few family budget studies conducted in Peking should be mentioned.[2] Between 1918 and 1924, altogether seven studies had been made by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, Dr. Ta Chen and Dr. Louise Morrow; they were all conducted by the questionnaire method. Their results are as follows :

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expenses for necessities of life including food, housing, clothing and public dues, while the other two may be called cultural expenses, including such items as expenses for education, sanitation, social intercourse, recreation, transportation, savings and insurance. Four inquiries have been summarily treated in Ayusawa, *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926.

[1] The report was published in Japanese by the South Manchurian Railway in 1924. See p. 93.

[2] These studies have been summarized in Meng and Gamble, Op. cit., pp. 60-63.

Inquiry	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light and Fuel	Miscellaneous
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
93 Tsing Hua College Employees (1918)	72.2	19.03	6.7	*	3.17
100 Peking Suburban Chinese Families (1918) ...	76.53	6.18	7.94	2.5	2.5
95 Peking Suburban Manchu Families (1918) ...	73.2	5.31	9.00	5.96	5.48
141 Tsing Hua College Employees (1923-4)	61.8	16.5	13.0	*	8.7
91 Peking Suburban Families (1924)	62.22	29.63	4.44	3.7	—
200 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	73.6	6.6	11.1	*	8.5
77 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	87.0	2.5	8	*	5.0
Average	70.0	12.	8	5	5

Of these inquiries, the first three were conducted by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, the next two, by Dr. Ta Chen, and the last two, by Dr. Louise Morrow.

* The cost of the light and fuel is included in the food expenses.

It will be seen that of all the Peking studies cited above the distribution of expenditure of the 100 Peking suburban Chinese families in 1918 and of the 77 Kung Chang workers in 1922-3 approaches most closely that of our own inquiry. Regarding these two studies, it seems that the expenses for light and fuel in the former and those for clothing in the latter were very much underestimated.

CHAPTER VI

FOOD CONSUMPTION

262 Food forms undoubtedly the most important category of expenditures of the forty-eight families.[1] From the data regarding the kinds and quantities of food and their expenses which were carefully recorded in the 288 account books, it has become possible for us to study food consumption in its two aspects, viz., (1) the quantity and expenditure of the various kinds of food consumed and (2) their nutritive values. This study, it must be observed, is necessarily of a very limited scope, being based only on the food records covering a period of six months for the forty-eight families, which, in fact, represented a mere tiny fraction of a certain class among the inhabitants of Peking, and consequently can by no means be taken as typical of the Chinese as a whole. As is generally known, food consumption differs not only between families and classes but also between individuals. In view of the wide extent of China which covers most varied climates, the food habits of different localities must be determined mainly by local food resources, particularly as food manufacture, transportation and nation-wide marketing have not yet been so developed as to enable all our people to adopt a somewhat uniform diet. At present, there can be no such thing as the Chinese national diet, unless all the factors mentioned above could be improved to such a degree as to render most of the staple foods within even the reach of the poorer classes. Even then, it is quite possible that local idiosyncrasies of food consumption will still remain.

Mention has been made of the adoption of Atwater's scale for calculating the equivalent adult male. In studying the food consumption of all the family members, all individuals were converted, according to the scale, to equivalent adult males eliminating, however, those who did not take meals at home. It

[1] [i.e. the sample families recorded.--Analyst]

was found that of the 162.10 equivalent adults of the forty-eight families, there were 131.77 who had taken meals at their homes, the average per family being 2.75. 262

In the following table are shown the average quantities bought and the average expenditures used per family and per equivalent adult, by kinds of food. The classification of foods, it may be added, was made in accordance with the food habits of the Chinese and was adopted, because it is convenient for calculating the specific elements of the Chinese food. The Chinese eats boiled rice, if he is a southerner, or corn or wheaten bread, if he is a northerner, with a little meat or its substitute, such as dried shrimps, vegetables and certain condiments to whet his appetite. In an inquiry on his expenditures for food, it will be found most convenient to ask of him the expenses for the four elements, viz. cereals, vegetables, meat and condiments, and very frequently an intelligent and reliable answer is obtained. There is no doubt that the dietitian's classification of foods into energy-giving, body-building and body-regulating elements is preferable in many ways, yet it is interesting to note that our classification in the main does not depart very much from it.

Attention must also be called to the limited variety of food articles in the table. For instance, egg-plants, radishes, pumpkins, cucumbers and crabs which are all popular foods with the Peking people are conspicuous by their absence. This is because our books were kept mainly during the months of winter and spring and foods not in season could hardly appear in them.

The averages of the first part of the table, as can be readily seen, were taken from all the families, regardless of the fact whether they had actually made any purchase or not, the idea being to show the general distribution of the varieties of food among them. From this, it may be inferred that an average family, that is, a family consisting of 2.75 equivalent adults, would be able to subsist in six months on 881.78 catties of food at an expenditure of $49.424. In other words, food costs on the average $3.00 per month per equivalent adult. Obviously the amount is inadequate, being rather low for a person to buy

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home				
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	881.78	321 23	49.424	18.005	48	100.0	881.78	49.424
Cereals etc. :	588.34	214.33	39.494	14.389	48	100.0	588.34	39.494
Rice	16.41	5.98	1.756	.640	47	97.9	16.76	1.794
Rice, broken	14.46	5.27	1 156	.421	45	93.8	15.42	1.234
Millet	38.05	13.86	2.625	.956	48	100.0	38.05	2.625
Rice, yellow	.32	.12	.025	.009	3	6.3	5.04	.404
Kaoliang...	10.70	3.90	.719	.262	37	77.0	13.87	.933
Kaoliang and beans mixed	.06	.02	.004	.002	1	2.1	2.90	.200
Beans, small	.23	.08	.013	.005	3	6.3	3.76	.210
Beans, yellow	.05	.02	.003	.001	4	8.3	.61	.039
Beans, green	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.09	.005
Beans, light green...	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.42	.027
Beans, red	.36	.13	.023	.008	24	50.0	.71	.460
Grains, mixed...	.61	.22	.042	.015	9	18.8	3.27	.225
Corn flour	197.87	72.08	10.514	3.830	48	10.00	197.87	10.514

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per fimily	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Corn flour, coarse	12.37	4.51	.769	.280	48	100.0	12.37	.769
Millet flour	134.18	48.88	9.093	3.313	48	100.0	134.18	9.093
Wheat flour, machine milled	6.00	2.19	.606	.221	10	20,8	28.80	2.909
Wheat flour, hand milled	83.72	30.50	6.901	2.514	48	100.0	83.72	6.901
Wheat flour, coarse	1.58	5.76	.109	.040	13	27.1	5.82	.401
Wheat flour with bran	26.44	9.63	1.819	.663	25	52.0	50.76	3.493
Buckwheat flour	35.07	12.78	2.494	.909	47	97.9	35.82	2.547
Wild oats flour	.39	.14	.021	.008	2	4.2	9.41	.499
Green bean flour	.73	.27	.052	.019	12	25.0	2.94	.209
Yellow rice flour	.68	.25	.059	.021	8	16.7	4.10	.357
Yellow bean flour	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.22	.016
Noodle bean	5.26	1.92	.416	.152	39	81.2	6.48	.512
Noodle, fresh	.15	.05	.014	.005	6	12.5	1.17	.109
Noodle, dried	.06	.02	.011	.004	8	16.7	.38	.064
Bread, steamed	.32	.12	.029	.011	9	18.7	1.69	.156
Cakes, wheaten	.08	.03	.008	.003	4	8.3	.98	.091

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Cakes, wheaten with sesamum	1.98	.72	.203	.074	40	83.3	2.37	.244
Bread, corn flour	.21	.08	.009	.003	5	10.4	2.02	.085
Vegetables etc. :	218.44	79.58	4.482	1.632	48	100.0	218.44	4.482
Chinese cabbage	114.60	41.75	1.583	.577	48	100.0	114.60	1.583
Sauerkraut	6.13	2.23	.093	.034	42	87.5	7.00	.106
Turnips, salted	8.55	3.11	.442	.161	48	100.0	8.55	.158
Ke-te, salted	4.53	1.65	.292	.106	46	95.8	4.72	.307
Leaves of *Ke-te*, salted	3.08	1.12	.129	.047	40	83.3	3.69	.155
Chinese cabbage, salted	.11	.04	.004	.001	10	20.8	.51	.019
Egg-plant, salted	.03	.01	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.25	.008
Peppers, green, salted	.02	.01	.002	.001	7	14.6	.10	.014
Vegetables, salted...	.07	.03	.013	.005	7	14.6	.51	.087
Spinach	14.24	5.19	.293	.107	48	100.0	14.24	.293
Sweet potatoes	40.48	14.75	.741	.270	46	95.8	42.24	.773
Taroes	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.65	.021

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Yams...	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Turnips	2.29	.83	.062	.023	42	87.5	2.61	.071
Carrots	.93	.34	.012	.004	19	39.6	2.36	.031
Green bean sprouts	3.42	1.25	.059	.021	24	50.0	6.84	.117
Yellow bean sprouts	6.08	2.21	.164	.060	47	97.9	6.21	.168
Light green beans, sprouted	.17	.06	.006	.002	14	29.2	.59	.021
Bean-curd	5.69	2.07	.181	.066	48	100.0	5.69	.181
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.39	.14	.007	.003	12	25.0	1.56	.030
Bean-curd, preserved	[1]	[1]	[2]	[2]	1	2.1	.04	.005
Bean-curd, smoked	.07	.03	.009	.003	11	22.9	.32	.041
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	[1]	[1]	[2]	[2]	1	2.1	.14	.011
Vermicelli	.26	.09	.055	.020	24	50.0	.52	.040
Vermicelli, fresh	.02	.01	.004	.001	17	35.4	.07	.012
Bean-curd, green, dried	.11	.04	.007	.003	8	16.7	.65	.042
Celery	.04	.01	.001	[2]	2	4.2	.91	.021
Coriander	.11	.04	.009	.003	33	68.8	.15	.013

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—*(Continued)*

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salted cabbage, dried	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.005
Onions	5.06	1.84	.172	.063	48	100.0	5.06	.172
Garlics	.22	.08	.041	.015	44	91.6	.24	.045
Allium adorum	1.50	.55	.073	.027	44	91.6	1.64	.080
Flowers of allium adorum	.05	.02	.006	.002	18	37.5	.14	.015
Peppers, green	.04	.01	.008	.003	28	58.4	.07	.013
Green pepper paste	.02	.01	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.32	.011
Lily flowers, dried...	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.03	.011
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	4	8.3	.01	.014
Mushrooms	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.03	.012
Seaweeds, long	.06	.02	.008	.003	9	18.7	.33	.044
Condiments :	25.78	9.39	3.315	1.206	48	100.0	25.78	3.315
Sesamum oil	4.42	1.61	1.401	.510	48	100.0	4.42	1.401
Mutton fat	.21	.08	.058	.021	39	81.2	.26	.071
Lard	.30	.11	.116	.042	28	58.4	.52	.198

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—*(Continued)*

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Salt	10.54	3.84	.843	.307	48	100.0	10.54	.843
Soy paste	6.47	2.36	.524	.191	48	100.0	6.47	.524
Sesamum paste	.27	.10	.052	.019	44	91.7	.30	.057
Soy sauce	.50	.18	.042	.015	32	66.7	.75	.064
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.57	.061
Vinegar	1.93	.70	.081	.030	48	100.0	1.93	.081
Sugar, white	.13	.05	.025	.009	12	25.0	.53	.101
Sugar, brown	.84	.31	.143	.052	39	81.2	1.03	.176
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	13	27.1	.01	.009
Pepper, red	.02	.01	.008	.003	41	85.5	.02	.010
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	12	25.0	.02	.009
Ginger	.12	.04	.015	.005	37	77.0	.15	.020
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	6	12.5	.05	.006
Bean starch	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	3	6.3	.08	.011
Meats etc.:	6.39	2.33	1.603	.585	48	100.0	6.39	1.603
Mutton	2.76	1.01	.803	.293	48	100.0	2.76	.803

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Sheep's liver	.01	(1)	.003	.001	3	6.3	.14	.048
Sausage	.03	.01	.002	.001	1	2.1	1.43	.080
Melange, mutton	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	2.1	.25	.106
Pork	1.32	.48	.372	.136	29	60.4	2.19	.615
Beef	1.26	.46	.273	.100	37	81.2	1.56	.336
Ox tongue	.03	.01	.004	.001	3	6.3	.43	.060
Melange, beef	.20	.07	.026	.009	4	8.3	2.41	.306
Fish	.07	.03	.008	.003	1	2.1	3.59	.398
Fresh-water snails	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.69	.011
Shrimps	.60	.22	.077	.028	47	97.9	.62	.078
Eggs	.08	.03	.033	.012	7	14.6	.05	.225
Refreshments etc.:	42.83	15.61	.530	.193	47	97.9	43.74	.541
Fruits:	.98	.36	.086	.031	31	64.6	1.52	.133
Persimmons	.50	.18	.027	.010	26	54.2	.93	.049
Pears	.06	.02	.007	(2)	4	8.3	.81	.090

Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—*(Continued)*

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home				
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Oranges	.04	.01	.012	(2)	2	4.2	.96	.293
Apples	.01	(1)	.003	(2)	2	4.2	.25	.082
Cherry-apples	.10	.04	.010	(2)	12	25.0	.40	.040
Lily roots	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.28	.021
Haw fruits	.18	.07	.019	.007	6	12.5	1.45	.156
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.011
Dates	.04	.01	.004	(2)	6	12.5	.31	.031
Black dates	.02	.01	.001	(2)	2	4.2	.47	.027
Persimmons, dried	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.17	.016
Plums	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.03	.008
Apricot, dried	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.37	.053
Others:	41.85	15.25	.444	.162	47	97.9	42.74	.453
Doughnuts	.10	.04	.021	.008	16	33.3	.31	.064
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.31	.11	.029	.011	12	25.0	1.23	.118
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled	.02	.01	.002	(2)	2	4.2	.60	.057

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	3	6.3	.22	.028
Cakes, green bean...	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	2.1	.25	.043
Cakes, glutinous rice	.38	.14	.042	.015	8	16.7	2.28	.255
Sponge cakes	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.06	.021
Bean soup	39.08	14.24	.074	.027	38	79.2	49.36	.094
Bean whey	.01	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.38	.008
Almond soup	.02	.01	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.38	.008
Beef suet...	.03	.01	(2)	(2)	2	4.2	.39	.011
Lily root flour...	.02	.01	.006	.002	1	2.1	1.41	.284
Dumplings, rice flour	.12	.04	.004	.001	7	14.6	.11	.024
Moon cakes	.14	.05	.025	.009	8	16.7	.71	.151
Kang-lu, (cake)	.05	.02	.030	.011	3	6.3	2.17	.484
Honey-cakes	.13	.05	.010	.004	2	4.2	1.25	.239
Cakes, sundry...	.09	.03	.031	.011	3	6.3	2.11	.491
Mixed nuts	.07	.03	.023	.008	2	4.2	2.12	.540
Peanuts	1.08	.39	.015	.005	4	8.3	.83	.175
			.092	.034	43	89.6	1.21	.103

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Table 14.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families in Six Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (48)				Families purchasing			
	Average quantity		Average expenditure					
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Per cent of all families	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$			*catties*	$
Melon seeds	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	2	4.2	.06	.046
Walnuts	.02	.01	.011	.004	1	2.1	1.04	.531
Chestnuts	.10	.04	.011	.004	9	18.8	.55	.057
Broad beans	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	1	2.1	.13	.011
Candies	.06	.02	.012	.004	10	20.8	.28	.056

(1) Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

(2) Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

262 sufficient food, but it should be remarked that the food prepared and cooked at home is much less expensive and usually costs only half the price that is paid for ready-made meals sold abroad.

The second part of the table shows the number and percentage of families actually purchasing various foods and also the average quantity bought and average amount spent per family making purchases. In will be seen that certain kinds of food, viz. millet, corn flour, millet flour, wheat flour, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy-paste, vinegar, and mutton, being consumed by all the families without exception, constitute what may be called the standard diet of the families studied. Of the cereals, corn flour leads all the rest both in quantity and in expenditure, while millet flour comes easily the second. Both these principal cereals are supplemented by rice, buckwheat and *kaoliang*. The first mentioned article, while not quite palatable to the taste of northern Chinese and also comparatively more costly, is used only occasionally and sparingly for making porridge. In the vegetable group, cabbage, salted turnips, spinach, beancurd and onions are universally used. Of these, salted turnips in conjunction with other pickles in the list serve as appetizers and beancurd, a manufactured legume product having various kinds of make, may perhaps be considered a national food, as it is consumed all over China. The wide use of such odoriferous and pungent articles as onions, garlic and allium adorum may be accounted for by the fact that they are excellent appetizers for the poorer classes, as they cannot afford to consume meat and other delicacies except once in a long while.

[252] Sesamum oil is used in north China chiefly to cook food with, or to make fry, while salt and vinegar are all condiments [263] indispensable in preparing dishes. Soy-paste, a tasteful condiment somewhat similar to the Japanese *miso*, is greatly liked as a relish by the Peking people, hence its wide use. One may notice that the salt figures that appeared in the average expenditure columns are only second to those for sesamum oil. The

exorbitant duties levied by the government on the manufacture, 262 transportation as well as sale of salt has already made it a luxury to families of humble means and it is known that some have even been denied at times the use of it on account of its abnormally high price.

The low consumption of meat by the families is only natural, as the high and increasing cost of meat in Peking has certainly prohibited families of limited means from eating it frequently and then when they do, they have to be contented with only small quantities. The Chinese people have been known as a pork-eating race, but so far as the data supplied by the Peking working families go, there is no doubt that mutton rather than pork is the popular meat among them. This, it may be suggested, is due to two reasons. One is the comparatively lower cost of mutton because it is supplied in abundance from the pasture lands in proximity to Peking and the other is the flavour which it gives to the dishes cooked with it, so that those who are denied of other delicacies will at least find mutton appetizing.

The refreshments group consists of fruits, pastries and other edibles which, being taken essentially as refreshments in small portions, do not form part of a proper meal. That fruits should occupy such an insignificant place among the foods is due mainly to the slender purse of these families, and perhaps also due, to some extent, to the absence among these people of the habit of taking them. Indeed, some fruits like persimmons and pears, which grow plentifully in the vicinity of Peking and as a rule, are displayed on the stalls in abundance on the streets, should not have lacked customers but for the heavy octroi taxes and duties which have so raised their prices that they have practically become a luxury of the well-to-do.

It is not necessary for us to go into every article of food, but in studying Table 14, one can hardly fail to notice the distinctive features of food consumption of these Peking families. Briefly stated they are:

(1) By far, the largest amount of the expenditure spent by the average family for food goes to the cereal group and that is 80

262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

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265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

Table 15.—Analysis of Average Food Expenses per Family

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Income group	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family —				Average amount of food expenses per family in six months			
		Total	Taking meals at home	Buying meals from outside	Taking meals offered by relatives	Total	Home-made meals	Ready-made meals	Meals offered by relatives
Under $ 70	3	2.60	2.44	.14	.02	$47.75	$41.37	$6.01	$0.37
$ 70 & under $110...	28	3.00	2.46	.46	.07	63.68	45.17	16.84	1.68
$110 & under $150...	14	4.10	3.29	.76	.04	87.02	56.87	29.29	.86
$150 & under $190...	3	4.50	3.21	1.21	.08	107.74	62.51	43.16	2.07
All incomes	48	3.39	2.75	.57	.06	72.25	49.43	21.44	1.38
		PER CENT.							
Under $ 70	6.3	100	94	5	1	100	87	13	1
$ 70 & under $110...	58.3	100	82	15	2	100	71	26	3
$110 & under $150...	29.2	100	80	19	1	100	65	34	1
$150 & under $190...	6.3	100	71	27	2	100	58	40	2
All incomes	100.0	100	81	17	2	100	68	30	2

One noteworthy feature may be observed from the foregoing table. It is the tendency that the higher the income, the more persons bought their meals from outside, and consequently more money was paid for meals prepared by vendors.

This upward tendency of the expenditure on the purchase of ready-made food in higher income groups is extremely interesting. Not only does it demonstrate the higher cost of food purchased from dealers, it further explains, in part at least, the abnormally high percentage of food among various items of expenditure. It will be found in Table 15 that the average expense for ready-made meals paid by each family amounted to 30 per cent of the average total food expenditure, while the same expense paid by the family in the highest income group rose to as much as 40 per cent. There is no doubt that the purchase of ready-made meals must have been an important factor in raising the food expense of the working families. Now, in order to reduce the food expense of the working family, the most obvious

261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home. 265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of ricksha-men, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in

the quantities of food consumed, for it is the latter that are of real importance to us. Unfortunately data of this kind are not often obtainable; only the food expenses are available for comparison here. Furthermore, in making such a comparison, besides the expenses, there are other extremely important factors which should be taken into consideration. Prices and currency, for instance, often influence the distribution of food expenses to a great extent, but to make a study of their bearing upon food expenditures it would be beyond our present scope. Consequently, the expenses taken from the Japanese and Indian studies are presented as they are, without referring to such factors as price levels and currency conditions.

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According to studies made by Dr. Kokichi Morimoto,[1] food is divided into principal and subordinate foods which correspond respectively to our cereals and the other four groups combined. In the following table, this extremely convenient way of classifying oriental diet is adopted. The figures which are taken from Dr. Morimoto's studies are the percentages of the total food expenditure for small farmers, prisoners and labourers.

Percentages of Expenditure for Principal and Subordinate Foods

Class of food	Peking labourer (1926-27)	Japanese			
		Tokyo Farmer (1915)	Country farmer (1913)	Labourer (1914)	Prisoner (1913-14)
Principal food	80.0	59.9	61.9	84.6	86.5
Subordinate food ...	20.0	40.1	38.1	15.5	13.5

It will be seen that although the figures showing the distribution of food expenses of the Peking labourers compare favourably with those for Japanese prisoners and labourers, they are, however, not so well adjusted as those of the Japanese farmers,

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[1] See Kokichi Morimoto, *The Standard of Living in Japan*, 1918 Baltimore. pp. 29-35.

262 for the latter seemed to have earned sufficient income to enable them to improve their subordinate foods.

Literature on Indian diet is sorely lacking in the libraries in this part of the country. The data that we are able to discover are from the economics studies of the University of Madras[1] and the interesting account of the economic life of Faridpur, a district in Bengal.[2] All the data refer to villagers or workers. As they are widely different from one another, it is impossible to tell which approximate the percentage figures for the average or normal family. However, they are given here entirely for the sake of comparison. It is hardly necessary to add that the percentages are calculated by us from the data of various studies.

Percentages of Expenditure for Groups of Food

	Tinnevelly Brahman (1916)	Tinnevelly Tenant (1916)	South Kanara farmer (1916)	Trichinopoly Village headman (1916)	Trichinopoly Brahman farmer (1916)	Faridpur working class family in comfort	Faridpur working class family in extreme indigence	Minimum subsistence of a farm family[3]	Peking labourer (1926-27)
Rice and other cereals	47	77	73	77	44	78	82	85	80
Vegetables, oil etc.	52	23	27	23	56	22	20	15	20

It will be found from the figures presented in the above table that with the exceptions of the Tinnevelly Brahman, the Trichinopoly Brahman farmer and the South Kanara farmer, the proportion of expenses for grains and subordinate foods in the majority of cases conforms roughly with that of the food expenses for the Peking labouring family. And it seems that as far as the percentages of the food expenses go, the Peking labourer equals the Faridpur family in comfort.

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[1] *South Indian Villages, University of Madras Economic Series* 1918, London, pp. 75-76, 217 and 225-226.

[2] J. C. Jack. *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* 1916 Oxford p. 71.

[3] This is taken from a budget constructed for the purpose of showing the expenses required for maintaining the minimum subsistence of an Indian village family. See *Indian Journal of Economics* Vol. VII, p. 490.

NUTRIENTS OF FOOD

Every article of food contains many elements that are essential to the human organism and in a scientific study of the Peking diet, it seems that all elements, such as minerals, nutrients and vitamines, should be analysed and determined. However, we shall confine ourselves only to a study of three nutrients and fuel value of the foods consumed by the members of the forty-eight families, while a thoroughgoing analysis of them must be left to more competent hands.

In considering the values of foods, one should, of course, guard against being led into the errorneous belief that the amount of food consumed actually represents its nutrients absorbed into the bodily system. It often happens that one person taking a smaller amount of nuritious food may be able to digest and assimilate it, whilst another taking a larger quantity of the same food may suffer from serious indigestion, due, no doubt, to his poor digestive organs. Thus, digestion and absorption are of primary importance to a person and the quantity of food consumed does not always act as a reliable index showing the amount of nutrients taken. Be that as it may, the analysis of the nutrients and calories contained in the foods consumed by the persons of the forty-eight families in the six months has proven so interesting that a few remarks concerning them may not be out of place.

A complete table of the total quantity of food consumed by the families in terms of nutrients and calories is published as Appendix III of this book, to which readers may refer, but in Table 16 is presented the average consumption of food per equivalent adult per day according to its nutrient constituents and fuel value.

The average food expenditure per equivalent adult per day is $.0995, that is, approximately ten cents. As the Peking labourer takes two meals a day, each meal would cost five cents. Of the amount of ten cents, 80 per cent went to pay for cereals, which yield 88.3 per cent of protein, 66.7 per cent of fat, and 96.9 per cent of carbohydrates: or 92.8 per cent of fuel value.

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Table 16.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 48 Working Families

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Cereals:	$ .0795	666.39	66.99	19.74	489.76	2,407.72
Wheat [1] ...	*.0195*	*136.28*	*16.65*	*2.03*	*97.82*	*476.49*
Rice [2]	*.0060*	*36.10*	*3.19*	*.11*	*29.08*	*131.43*
Corn [3]... ...	*.0227*	*238.36*	*21.47*	*9.91*	*173.16*	*869.73*
Millet [4] ...	*.0236*	*195.07*	*18.84*	*6.43*	*146.49*	*718.63*
Others ...	*.0076*	*60.59*	*6.83*	*1.26*	*43.20*	*211.43*
Vegetables ...	.0090	247.42	4.76	.57	12.18	73.15
Condiments ...	.0067	29.21	1.47	6.50	1.29	69.68
Meats	.0032	7.23	1.29	2.01	.01	23.96
Refreshments:	.0010	48.51	1.37	.79	2.03	20.63
Fruits ...	*.0002*	*1.11*	*.01*	(5)	*.14*	*.61*
Others ...	*.0009*	*47.40*	*1.36*	*.79*	*1.90*	*20.02*
All Classes ...	.0995	998.76	75.88	29.61	505.27	2,595.14
	PER CENT.					
Cereals:	80.0	66.7	88.3	66.7	96.9	92.8
Wheat [1] ...	*19.6*	*13.6*	*21.9*	*6.9*	*19.4*	*18.4*
Rice [2]	*6.1*	*3.6*	*4.2*	*.4*	*5.8*	*5.1*
Corn [3] ...	*22.8*	*23.9*	*28.3*	*33.5*	*34.3*	*33.5*
Millet [4] ...	*23.7*	*19.5*	*24.8*	*21.7*	*29.0*	*27.7*
Others ...	*7.7*	*6.1*	*9.0*	*4.3*	*8.5*	*8.1*
Vegetables ...	9.1	24.8	6.3	1.9	2.4	2.8
Condiments ...	6.7	2.9	1.9	22.0	.3	2.7
Meats	3.2	.7	1.7	6.8	(6)	.9
Refreshments:	1.0	4.9	1.8	2.7	.4	.8
Fruits ...	*.2*	*.1*	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Others ...	*.9*	*4.7*	*1.8*	*2.6*	*.4*	*.8*
All Classes: ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.

[2] Including all varieties of rice.

[3] Including corn flour, coarse and refined, and its products.

[4] Including millet flour and millet.

[5] Less than 0.005 gram.

[6] Less than 0.05 pre cent.

While both the vegetables and condiments supply practically the same number of calories, the latter, however, contain much more fats, viz. 22 per cent. Compared with the three kinds of foods just mentioned, the quantity of meats and refreshments consumed is insignificant in both nutritive and calorific value. The average fuel value transformed from the food consumed per equivalent adult per day is 2,595.14 calories. To be more precise, the equivalent adults in the various families according to calories per day are distributed in the following manner:

Calories	Equivalent Adults	Number of Families
1800-1999	3.96	1
2000-2199	12.58	4
2200-2399	16.89	6
2400-2599	30.00	9
2600-2799	35.09	14
2800-2999	19.61	8
3000-3199	8.79	4
3200-3399	4.85	2
All groups	131.77	48

The average daily diet per equivalent adult contains the following nutrients: Protein, 75.88 grams; fats, 29.61 grams; carbohydrates, 505.27 grams.

The distinctive features of the consumption of the Peking working people from the standpoint of nutrition are:

(1) that they take more carbohydrates than the standard diet allows,

(2) that proteins and, in a greater degree, fats are below the standards set by some authorities on food nutrition,

(3) that the small amount of proteins is chiefly derived from cereals and

(4) that the fuel value yielded by the foods consumed per equivalent adult per day is on the average much lower than the now universally recognized standard of calories which is 3,000. Compared with the daily dietary planned by the Bureau of Hygiene of the Japanese Government for Japanese at moderate

146 work,[1] which is 96 grams of protein, 20 grams of fats and 405 grams of carbohydrates, it is clear that the nutrients contained in the Peking diet are more than sufficient, save in proteins. According to some authorities on nutrition, however, the proportion of protein in daily dietaries is still higher. Voit, for instance, fixed the standard for a man at moderate work at 118 grams, while Atwater held it to be 112 for a person having light muscular work. At any rate, the protein requirement, it is maintained, should be above 100 grams, whereas the Peking daily dietary contained 76, that is, only 64 per cent of the standard set by Voit. The low proportion of protein contained in the Peking food is obviously due to the fact that important proteid foods, such as meat, eggs, milk and cheese, if not entirely absent in the menu, are of necessity sparingly consumed. The consumption of meat in the forty-eight families per capita per day amounted only to 6.34 grams. This extraordinarily low figure, it may be observed, represents but 2 per cent of that for the average Australian who is said to consume 306 grams of meat per day.

Now this peculiar feature of the Chinese diet, namely, the low percentage of proteins, of which that of the Peking labourer is an example, has often been commented upon by chemists.[2] It was viewed with alarm because of its deplorable effect upon the vigour and strength of our racial stock. Furthermore, it was pointed out that as the proteins contained in the Chinese diet are mainly derived from food stuffs of a plant origin, such as cereals and legumes, their coefficient of digestibility is necessarily low, and consequently they are of much lower biological value than those from milk, eggs and meat. While it is undoubtedly true that proteins contained in the Peking diet represents only a little more than three-fifths of the standard, yet it should be remembered that there are other authorities who would be prepared to say that they are quite adequate. For instance, Prof. Chittenden[3] main-

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[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., p. 22.

[2] See, for instance, the instructive article on Chinese Diet by Dr. Hsien Wu, *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* Vol. XI, No. 1 pp. 62 et seq.

[3] Chittenden, *Physiological Economy of Nutrition* 1905 p. 475.

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tained that one half of the 118 grams of proteid food is quite sufficient to meet all the real physiological needs of the body and Prof. Sherman,[1] after reviewing various opinions regarding the value of protein diet, has also remarked that "if the average daily food requirement of a man at rest be taken as 2,000 calories including 50 grams of protein, the same man at work may require 3,000 or 4,000 calories, while his actual requirement for protein will not be appreciably increased," and concluded that 75 grams of protein would be all that is needed in a diet for an average man. Apparently between those who advocate the necessity of a more than liberal proportion of proteins in the daily diet and those who hold that "any excess of protein over that which the body actually needs is likely to be directly injurious and at best puts an unnecessary and useless strain upon the liver and kidneys," the views are divided, yet in the light of the latter, the protein contained in the Peking diet seems to be ample enough, and apart from the question of its digestibility, it should not be a serious problem in the Chinese diet.

In this connection, it may be of interest to describe the diet of the boatmen in whose company the present writer had the pleasure of travelling from Jehol to Lanchow for four days in a summer month in 1916. These boatmen were all of a hardy and robust type, excellent specimens of northern Chinese, and the pictures which were taken of them in their naked state might easily pass for those of Greek statues, if only their facial features did not betray their origin. They rowed and dragged the boat from sunrise to sunset every day and in the long day's voyage, they made only three halts to prepare their simple meals and consume them. Now the surprising thing to find is that their meals consisted nothing but from 1,400 to 1,700 grams of millet per capita per diem with some salted pickles for each meal to serve as relish. The quantity of millet they consumed each day would yield from 5,000 to 6,000 calories including 140 to 160 grams of protein to each person. And it seems safe to maintain that these boatmen who subsisted on such a simple and inexpensive diet day after day

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[1] Sherman, *Chemistry of Food and Nutrition*, 1927, pp. 538 et seq.

146 had not only kept themselves fit for the strenuous work which happened to be their lot to do but apparently flourished and enjoyed the best of health.

After this digression, one cannot help suspecting that the Chinese diet which has been determined during the long ages through the adaptation of the race to its environment and on which have subsisted and survived generations of our people, may after all not be so painfully inadequate as some would suggest. That great masses of the Chinese have been and at present are still under-nourished nobody could gainsay, yet it seems that, on the whole, the simple vegetarian diet would be sufficient to meet the bodily requirement of the Chinese. In fact, it is the economic aspect of the food problem that we should pay more attention to. Considering the poverty and the low purchasing power of the Chinese, it would be rash to advocate the use of meat and milk in our diet, of which the latter, even the Chinese of the middle class would consider as a luxury. Prof. Chittenden has well pointed out the economic aspect of the problem upon which we have stressed and his words are well worth quoting at length :

> "It is certainly just as plausible to assume that increase in the consumption of protein food follows in the footsteps of commercial and other forms of prosperity, as to argue that prosperity or mental and physical development are the result of an increased intake of protein food. Protein foods are usually costly and the ability of a community to indulge freely in this form of dietitic luxury depends in large measure upon its commercial prosperity."[1]

It can certainly be maintained that the richness and variety of the daily fare which the modern European or American is privileged to enjoy at present is only a very recent thing—a product of the economic and social changes of the last two centuries. Discoveries of new territories, changes in the technique of production and industrial organization, application of science to agriculture and animal husbandry, development of a world-wide transport system, economic domination of the aggressive races over the peoples of the weak and industrially undeveloped countries, all these combined have made the whole globe the granary and larder of the Westerner with the result that his standard of living has been enormously raised. The mediaeval peasants, the ancestors of the modern Europeans, had in fact to partake very poor foods. Hans Beham[1] wrote at the end of the fifteenth century of the German peasant thus: "They feed on brown bread, oatmeal porridge or boiled peas; they drink water or whey; they are clad in linen coats with boots of untanned leather and a dyed cap." Gower,[2] feeling scandalized by the high wages English labourers received after the Black Death, described the labourers of the olden times as "not wont to eat wheaten bread; their bread was of either corn or beans, and their drink was of spring. Then, cheese and milk were a feast to them; rarely had they other feast than this." Yet even under normal circumstances, the English mediaeval villager, in spite of the scarcity of labour after the Black Death, must be content with a poor fare, for "chickens, geese and pork or bacon are beyond him;" he "has two green (fresh) cheeses, a few curds, and cream, and a cake of oats, and bread for my bairn of beans and of peases," "with leeks, onions, parsley and cherries."[3] Thus it appears that the Chinese diet of today is but that of the European peasant of yesterday. Material poverty which the Chinese is now doomed to suffer is due to the fact that while the swift currents of modern scientific and industrial progress are buoyantly and triumphantly rolling along, leading all the peoples within their sphere to enjoy prosperity and happiness, he is stranded on a barren shore and left there in a sad plight. To improve his present lot, he has but to make an endeavour to share the heritage of the modern material civilization which of all peoples the occidentals must be credited to have contributed the greatest share in building up to benefit mankind.

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[1] Chittenden, *The Nutrition of Man* 1907 p. 160.

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[1] Quoted by Coulton, *The Mediaeval Village*, Cambridge 1925. p. 23.

[2] Coulton, Op. cit., pp. 235-7.

[3] Coulton, Op. cit., p. 315 Cf. also, for instance, Renard and Weuleurse, *Life and Work in Modern Europe*, p. 117. It is said that in Germany, as late as about half a century ago, even professors had to be contented with two meals with meat every week.

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING

362 House rent is an important item of expenditure with our Peking families. In the order of percentages, it comes only after food and fuel and light. On account of its importance, we will give separate treatment to the housing conditions of the forty-eight families under investigation.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

361 For some five centuries, Peking has been the capital of the whole of China. Not only was it the site of the central government which promulgated laws binding upon the whole nation and commanded respect and obedience from its officials as well as its subjects, but it was also that of the national treasury which received regularly from time to time from the various provinces revenues in the forms of silver, grain, silk and other kinds of wealth. In the days of the Manchus, it was this revenue, which supported the lavishing imperial court, fed thousands of its kinsmen and bannerman soldiers who exerted no energy whatsoever on their part in return, and lastly paid the salaries of thousands of mandarins to enable them to maintain their living as became their standing, according to the scale then prevailing. In those days, when modern industry and commerce were still in their infancy, Peking could quite properly boast of itself as being the most opulent city in China, as it was able to draw every year immeasurable quantities of national wealth to support its big population of Manchu idlers and easy-going functionaries. Like the capital of all oriental countries, Peking owed its splendour to the fact that the ruling dynasty made it its political capital, while numberless functionaries chose it as their place of residence.

361 In the light of history, therefore, Peking is without doubt the
362 first city in China. Of all cities, it may easily claim to possess the greatest number of solid and well-built residences, not to mention its magnificent palaces and temples. It is evident that time must have worn out many a building that was once intact and erect and doubtless that in many quarters, where communication with the outside world is difficult, there usually stand houses that have already been on their way to ruin and decrepitude. Yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that Peking houses have a dignity of their own, which can hardly be found in any other city in this land. In comparison with the dwarf huts, low and ugly and made of mud, which one finds in the country sides, they are generally built of bricks with tiled roofs and spacious courtyards. In recent years, through the influx of people into Peking due to its various attractions, there has appeared indeed a shortage of housing, for the rent has gone up and poorer families have been compelled to move either to more distant quarters or to more shabby houses. Consequently, enterprising people rose to the occasion and began to build in outlying or dingy districts long rows of tenements for the occupation of the working class families. These houses are of course small and of very frail construction, but if they are all let, they would yield a rack-rent that goes to swell the pockets of the landlords. This, however, is a new development in Peking—an inevitable one in any city in view of its growth and expansion, unless there exists an enlightened municipal authority to take the matter in hand which we shall not go into now.

342 The Peking house of the regular type is built in four rows
362 encircling a courtyard. As a rule, each row is a separate build-
592 ing consisting of three rooms or *chien*,[1] the centre room or *chien* being used as a hall with a door, while the main entrance of the house is opened in the row that borders on the street. In the courtyard is usually planted a tree, a date-palm or a willow, its green foliage in the summer furnishing a haven to those who want to seek some shade under the blazing sun. A middle-class

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[1] A *chien* is usually an enclosure of 2.5 x 3.0 metres.

342 family usually occupies an entire house of this kind. It is, how-
362 ever, often found that one house may be shared by two or three
592 families, if they happen to have fewer members and do not care
to maintain an establishment that is more than they can use. If the middle-class family sometimes finds it difficult to maintain a house of the above description, as it would require heavy expenses for its rent and upkeep, surely families with smaller incomes must be satisfied with as few rooms as they are able to pay for. With our working families, however, the condition becomes even worse, for it was found that with only two exceptions, every family which we investigated occupied only one room. As one building usually comprises three rooms in a row, they may, by means of partitions or walls, be turned into three separate rooms to accommodate three families, of course with a door to each. So far, only the house of the regular type has been described and obviously there must be houses that do not entirely conform to this type. But in a treatise like this it would be hardly necessary to discuss in detail types of Peking houses, for, general speaking, all residential houses are built around a courtyard and the variations are limited to only the size and height of the building, the number of rooms in each row, the location of the main entrance, etc. And it is to the conditions of the room that we must now turn our attention.

342 Both the roof and the ceiling are important elements of the
362 room. In particular, it is usually by the roof that we judge whether
a room is fit for human habitation or not. Roofs of Peking houses are of three kinds: those built of tiles are considered the best, being more lasting and expensive, while those of lime or mud are considered of an inferior type. Of the rooms inhabited by our forty-eight families, the roofs were distributed as: tiled, 26, lime, 17, and mud, 5. The make of the roof alone, however, does not indicate the habitability of the room, for it must be so built that no water should drip in while it rains or the snow upon it thaws. On this point, it was found that thirty-seven families lived in rooms imperfectly roofed, while the remaining eleven families had their roofs in good condition.

Obviously, to live under roofs in a dilapidated state means discomfort, especially if rain water leaks through the roof and makes the room including its furnishings entirely wet or soaked with water. It seems that the roofs of the rooms occupied by poorer families are generally in bad shape, since the rental paid by them is low and the landlord is disinclined to lay out money for repair. 342 362

The ceiling of the Peking houses is usually made of a framework of reed pasted with wall-paper. In the summer, it shuts out the heat which is absorbed by the roof, while in the winter it keeps the room warm and cosy. But as the paper on the framework usually wears out after a few months, particularly if it has been moistened with water coming through a leaky roof, it requires expense from the occupant every year to keep it in good condition. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to find that forty-one of our families had no ceilings in their rooms.

So much for the roof and the ceiling. Let us now study the space inside the room. The room is usually square in shape. Its size varies, though there are standard measures well-known to the building trade. For the families under investigation, measurements were taken for all the rooms in which they inhabited and it was discovered that their range is as follows:

Length: 2.6-3.7 metres (8-12 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Width: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).
Height: 2.2-2.9 metres (7-9 Chinese mason's foot-rule).

Of these families, one-fourth lived in rooms of 3.2 × 2.6 × 2.2 metres, which is equivalent to 18 cubic metres. For the average of all rooms, the capacity per room amounts to 20 cubic metres.

362 In this connection, it is interesting to note that the rooms in which the Peking working families live are of much smaller size that those in Japan. According to Morimoto,[1] the size of the rooms occupied by families of smaller incomes in small and large cities in Japan ranges from 76 to 110 sq. ft. and from 68 to 108 sq. ft. respectively. With our Peking families, however, the

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[1] Morimoto, Op. cit., pp. 117, 119.

362 room of the biggest size is measured only 100 sq. ft. while that of the smallest size only approximates 40 sq. ft., the average size for all the rooms being 66 sq. ft. From a comparative point of view, it appears that the rooms the poorer families occupy in Peking are far too small, but it should be remembered that the bigger size of the old-styled Japanese room is reduced by its low ceiling and the smallness of the Peking room is compensated by its more elevated roof.

Nevertheless, the average room in a Peking house is still far from being sufficient, for practically half of the ground area in the room is taken up by a *kang*, a brick-built loft of more than half a metre high. As a substitute for the bed, the *kang* can be found practically in every house in north China. It is so built that it can be heated in the winter time by means of a Peking stove or by burning fuel such as wood or straw under it. It is without doubt an economical device in the Chinese home equipment, for, unlike the bedstead made of wood or iron, it may last many a year with very little wear and tear and requires but a reasonable sum for construction. It is usually built at the same time as the house and the landlord does not charge anything for the provision of it. Indeed, in those parts of China where the climate in the winter is particularly severe, a well-heated *kang* is the most welcome place to the tired labourer where he may enjoy his sleep, warm and cosy. Yet, it has also its distinct shortcoming: it is immovable and, being a mass of bricks, occupies too much space in the room. In case the room is equipped with other furniture, the air space in it must be still more reduced. Fortunately, the window of the room is unusually large. It is opened on the same side of the wall as the door and it occupies more than two-thirds of the former. Two or more pieces of latticed work constitute the window, which is generally pasted with thin white paper, the glass window being considered a luxury by poor families. Yet, it should be remarked that while paper permits better ventilation in the room, the transparent glass would certainly provide better light.

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In view of the limited space in the room, any one, not acquainted with the living conditions of the families studied, would be curious to know how they could possibly work and live there. The *kang* is not only a bed to sleep on, but serves also as a sitting place or a working table as occasion requires. In the summer time, the inmates of the house might work or even sleep in the courtyard, while in the winter time they certainly find no discomfort to huddle together, in order to get warmth. Even cooking does not present any difficulty to them, for the small stove can be installed in the room, if it is winter time, both for cooking food and generating heat, while in the summer, the simple cooking operations can be done in the courtyard. And it is fortunate for the Peking people, at least in this respect, that there are comparatively few rainy days throughout the warm seasons. 362

Table 17.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in 6 Months, by Income Groups. 362 427

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in 6 months		
		Persons	equivalent Adults		Persons	equivalent Adults	Per family	Per person living in home	Per equivalent adult living in home
Under $ 70	3	3.67	2.60	1.00	3.67	2.60	$8.00	$2.18	$3.08
$ 70 and under $110...	28	4.04	2.86	1.00	4.04	2.86	7.59	1.88	2.65
$110 and under $150...	14	4.93	3.70	1.14 §	4.31	3.23	7.81	1.59	2.11
$150 and under $190...	3	5.00	3.90	1.00	5.00	3.90	6.80	1.36	1.74
All incomes	48	4.33	3.16	1.04	4.16	3.04	7.63	1.76	2.43

§ Of this group, two families occupied two rooms each.

Such being the general conditions of the room in Peking, we shall now proceed to study the housing conditions of our forty-eight families. To have separate rooms for work, sleep and receiving guests is only an extravagance of the well-to-do, while the working class people have to content themselves with one

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room for a variety of purposes. And even that, it is a piece of luck to have. Thus, it will be seen from Table 17 that of all the families investigated, but two were living in one room. There were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults living and sleeping in one room. It is, however, noteworthy that families of smaller incomes appeared to have fewer persons in a room, while in the family of the highest income group, 3.9 equivalent adults should have all slept in one room. The general tendency seems to suggest that the increase of the average number of equivalent adults living in one room corresponds with the rise of income. In other words, the higher the income of the family, the more persons in it live together in one room.

In seeking an explanation of this rather peculiar phenomenon, one has only to study the average amount of rentals paid by our families. The average rental per family of the four income groups ranged itself between $6.80 and $8.00 for six months. But the remarkable thing is that the amount of the rental paid and the income of the family do not correspond with each other. Although the families of higher incomes have more members sleeping in the home, yet they seemed to prefer overcrowding themselves in one room to renting an extra one by spending a little more money. There is no doubt that families of higher income groups suffer from overcrowding, although their comparatively higher economic standing enabled them to spend more on food. This confirms our contention in an earlier chapter[1] that the higher incomes received by some of our families were not due so much to the rise in the rate of their wages as to the greater number of their family members earning money to contribute to the family chest.

The housing conditions of our families can hardly be called satisfactory. Whether judged by the English official standard which allows one person to a room or by the stricter standard employed by Dr. Bowley in "Livelihood and Poverty"[2] which considers more than one equivalent adult to a room as overcrowding, all our families were no doubt too far overcrowded. For

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[1] See Chap. V. pp. 67-70.

[2] A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Proverty* London 1915.

there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While 362
it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to 427
say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our 352
families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and 415
to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When 412
the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation.

352 Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a
415 part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which
412 are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to 352
use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only 415
in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multipli- 412
cation of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another.

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups.

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Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.86	4.95	1.32	.95	2.87	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
	PER CENT									
Under $70 ...	......	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	......	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	......	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	......	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	......	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

352 samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families
415 of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.

412 Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the
291 family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

352 One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for fur-
415 niture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous
412 items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

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Household Equipment and Clothing

Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
Total	....	$104.28	$51.32
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	....	25.16	14.55
Household furniture and utensils:	....	14.94	8.84
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50
Tea pot	1	.60	.40
Tea cups	2	.20	.10
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50
Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02
Brooms	2	.09	.05
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10
Spade	1	.30	.40
Mat	1	.50	.20
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10
Pictures	2	.10	.02
Kitchen utensils:	....	7.29	3.96
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.03
Bowls	9	.65	.33
Trays...	3	.33	.10
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01
Chopsticks	5pairs	.10	.02
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
Total	....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	....	37.84	20.92
Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Dusters	2	.20	.10
Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Brooms	3	.14	.07
Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.80
Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Axe	1	.20	.20
Balance	1	.30	.30
Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Mat	1	.40	.20
Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02
Kettle	1	.10	.05
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10
Funnel	1	.10	.05
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20
Pan, sandware ...	1	.10	.05
Pan cover...	1	.10	.02
Kitchen knife ...	1	.80	.40
Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05
Ladles	2	.20	.12
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20
Kitchen broom ...	1	.04	.01
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05
Flour bag...	1	.10	.05
Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24
Toilet articles:	....	1.53	0.60
Wash basin	1	.40	.20
Towel	1	.10	.05
Mirror	1	.50	.20
Combs	3	.25	.03
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10
Tooth brushes ...	2	.08	.02
Unclassified:	....	1.40	1.15
Playing cards ...	1 set	.20	.10
Doll	1	.20	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Value (estimated) Present
Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Pictures	4	.10	.05
Kitchen utensils: ...	....	10.09	4.96
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	3	.15	.05
Bowls...	10	.80	.40
Trays...	6	.50	30
Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Urn for pickles ...	1	.80	.40
Kettle	1	.10	.05
Stoves, iron	2	1.80	.80
Funnel	1	.05	.02
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pan, iron	1	30	.20
Pans, sandware ...	2	.20	.10
Pan cover...	1	.10	.05
Kitchen knife ...	1	.70	.20
Kitchen shovel ...	1	.10	.05
Ladles	9	.82	.45
Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Kitchen board ...	1	.40	.20
Kitchen broom ...	1	.02	.01
Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Flour bag...	1	.10	.05
Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Wicker basket ...	1	.20	.10

Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	....	79.12	36.77
Head of family: ...	....	28.90	11.25
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10
Wife:	....	25.00	11.90
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Toilet articles:	....	2.85	1.40
Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Towels	2	.30	.10
Mirror	1	.50	.10
Toilet case	1	1.00	.80
Combs	4	.25	.10
Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Articles for worship:	....	6.40	4.20
Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Unclassified:	....	1.20	0.33
Fans	2	.10	.08
Calendar	1	.10	.05
Knife...	1	1.00	.20
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	....	81.65	32.64
Head of family: ...	....	32.70	14.70
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated)		Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present			Original	Present
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.80
Hairnet, thick ...	1	.10	.05	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Diapers, infant's ...	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.80	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes...	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.80	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.80	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers...	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	....	11.40	5.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes...	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padped...	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver ...	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:...	....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	.60	.20

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Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed increditably low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.

In other words, the pinch of their straitened circumstances could first of all be felt upon their clothing expenses. Obviously a limit must be set to clothing economy as people could not possibly go about unclad, nor even so ill-clad as unbecoming to their station in life. Yet there are always means by which the frugal housewife would be able to cut down clothing expenses to a minimum. Old cotton-padded garments, for instance, may be re-made into new ones after proper cleaning and tailoring. The garments of the adult may be re-fitted for the young to wear, and the purchase of second-hand clothing sometimes enables one to save half of what she has to pay for the new. These and other means, an efficient and resourceful housewife of a poor family ought to know and have recourse to at times.

It may perhaps be contended that as our inquiry was conducted in the winter months, it is more likely that a much higher expenditure for clothing would have been needed then than in any other season and consequently the clothing expenses during the other months must have been insignificant, or even negligible. Thus, the clothing expenses as disclosed by our investigation may be regarded as sufficiently high for the working families. This may be admitted as true in general and the very straitened circumstances under which our working families usually live also warrant such a contention. But as clothing is a comparatively durable commodity, our data on it which are limited only to six months can hardly be considered as complete. Strictly speaking, even the study of clothing expenses for a twelve months period may sometimes do injustice to them. It seems that in order to secure incontestably reliable data about this item, they should be studied for a period of at least three years.

In view of these reasons, an inventory of the clothes in the possession of the forty-eight families would no doubt shed much fresh light upon the clothing conditions of our families. This, as has been noted, was duly made and two summary tables are now presented below.

Chinese clothes may be roughly divided according to their

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make into four groups: single, double, cotton-padded and fur lined. Under single garments may be grouped shirts, drawers, gowns and vests; all being made without lining. Double garments are all lined and include coats, trousers, gowns, vests (to be worn over the gown), jackets and leggings. Cotton-padded and fur-lined garments include the same variety of forms as the double garments. This classification of the four groups o clothing was followed in our analysis of the inventories. It will be observed that bedding, head wear and foot wear were all excluded from our consideration.

Of the 220 persons in the families under investigation, the clothing of 197 was recorded; eleven persons who were staying away from their respective homes furnished no data, while twelve were infants under one year.

Table 19.—Distribution of Persons According to Number and Kind of Garments in Possession

Number of garments	Kind of Garments			
	Single	Double	Cotton-padded	Fur-lined
	Number of persons possessing the specified number of garments			
0	1	38	1	187
1	12	64	3	8
2	59	66	125	2
3	43	26	53	—
4	32	2	13	—
5	37	1	2	—
6	9	—	—	—
7	3	—	—	—
10	1	—	—	—
Total	197	197	197	197

It will be seen from Table 19 that the majority of persons possessed two to three single, one to two double, and two cotton-padded, garments. Fur-lined dresses being something of a luxury and only very rarely worn by the poorer class of people, it, seems natural that 187 persons went without them. It is hardly necessary to add that the table was meant to show merely the mode of each kind of wear which every person possessed and that the persons enumerated under the various kinds of garments were not mutually exclusive.

To supplement Table 19 an attempt was made to arrange in order the different groups of garments according to the number owned by various persons, and numbers representing the lower quartile, the median, and the upper quartile of each group were found as follows:

Kind of Garments	Q_1	Median	Q_3	Average
Single	2	3	5	3.3
Double	1	1	2	1.5
Cotton-padded	2	2	3	2.4
Fur-lined	0	0	0	.06

A general view of the ownership of clothing may be gathered from the table above. Of the 197 persons, one half had more than and the other half had less than three single, one double and two cotton padded garments. If the latter half is again subdivided into two, it will be found that the two subdivided halves are in the same position as those marked by the median, except in regard to single garments. If the former half having more garments is also subdivided into two halves, it will be found that one half has more than five single, two double and three cotton padded garments, while the other half has less than the quantities of the various kinds mentioned. The arithmetical average of each of the four groups of garments for all the persons is however slightly higher than the median.

From the foregoing considerations, some conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the wardrobe of the families under investigation was pitiably poor; only one fourth of their members had extra single garments for change, while less than one fourth could boast of having extra cotton-padded garments. While the latter kind of wear may possibly be worn throughout the whole winter

291 without change, it is however inconceivable that the single garments could be worn for months, if they are not washed at frequent intervals. It is highly probable that the single garments of the poorer people are but seldom washed, but as clothes of different members in a family are as a rule exchangeable, laundering may perhaps not occasion much difficulty, if in it are found extra suits. Secondly, double garments seem to be of less importance to the poorer class of people. Indeed it is not uncommon among the people of the rural districts that they put on cotton-padded clothing as soon as single garments are discarded. Thirdly, cotton-padded garments are generally worn without any underclothing, the latter being only an extravagance to those who have an abundant supply of single garments.

Living from hand to mouth, the poorer people, it seems, must have rested content with their scanty stock of clothing. In fact, one cannot help thinking that they fared scarcely better in this respect than the peasants of mediaeval Europe. Whereas clothes with the latter were often "homemade from beginning to end, spun, woven, cut and fashioned"[1] those of the Chinese are only cut and fashioned in the home, the clothing materials being mainly supplied from the mills in Lancashire, Osaka or Shanghai.

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[1] See Coulton Op. cit. p. 318.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living. 494 465

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

494 have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food,
465 tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination.

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant, alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
		PER CENT			
$45- 69.9...	....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.. ..	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	....	26	35	39	100

2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own 494 food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as 511 clothing, rent, etc.
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha 494 owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen; and

494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman
511 follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of 494
himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, 511
if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
			PER CENT			
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the ricksha- 494
man compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. 262
It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions 511
that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

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they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rick-shamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69 9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2,296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as 494
he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is 262
every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more 511
of his earnings for food when he is on the street.

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

494 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent
262 adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very
511 limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

CHAPTER IX

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Before proceeding to deal with the living conditions of the 875 elementary school teachers in Peking as represented by the twelve budget accounts for November 1926, it would be pertinent first of all to describe some of the social aspects of their families.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES

1. Size and Membership. As shown in Table 25, of the 875 twelve families under investigation, one fourth had four members 596 each while more than one half had each less than five. The size of the family of those that make the teaching of children their main profession is necessarily small, being generally circumscribed by its income. In case the teacher comes from a big family, either he is not the chief bread-earner or his earnings are supplemented by those of others.

Table 25.—Size and Membership of Twelve Teaching Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Member relationship	Number
2	1	Husbands (the teacher)	12
3	2	Wives	10
4	4	Sons	7
5	1	Daughters	6
6	1	Fathers	5
7	2	Mothers	7
12	1	Brothers	3
		Sisters	3
		Brothers' wives	2
Total	12	Nephews	5
		Niece	1
		Total	61

875 As was the case with the working families, the majority of
596 the members in the teachers' families was constituted by the husbands and wives and their offspring. But in contrast with them, a greater proportion of parents was found living with the teachers' families. It happened in our working families that the head of the family was at the same time the chief worker or the chief bread-earner. But in the families of the elementary school teachers, the teacher was not always, nor necessarily, the family head. As our subject of investigation is the teacher, it seems that we have to depart somewhat from the procedure adopted in analysing membership of the working families and to take the teacher as the head of the family. It may be observed that with the middle class families, to which that of the teacher surely belongs according to the social, if not the economic scale, parents always live with their son even after the latter's marriage, and unless the burden be found too heavy for the teacher to bear, the traditional organization of the family is as a rule still maintained. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the teachers' families, husbands, wives and their offspring constitute only 57 per cent of the whole population whereas those in the working families constitute almost 91 per cent.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of the Members of the Twelve Families

Age group	Husbands	Wives	Sons	Daughters	Others	Total
Under 5 ..	—	—	4	1	2	7
5- 9...	—	—	2	3	3	8
10-14 ..	—	—	1	2	—	3
15-19 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
20-29...	5	4	—	—	3	12
30-39 ..	5	6	—	—	5	16
40-49...	2	—	—	—	2	4
50-59 ..	—	—	—	—	5	5
60-69...	—	—	—	—	4	4
70-79...	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total...	12	10	7	6	26	61

2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that appropations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for during
465 the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only
about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few 875
careers that are open to women. The few professions that women 462
may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary 562
work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life.

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as 875
in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary 434
school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month. 465

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

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[1] [ie., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]

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434 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of their expenditures.

465 **Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month**

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
" 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
" 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
" 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
" 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
" 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
" 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
" 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
" 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
" 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
" 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
" 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.

[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.

[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.

[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.

[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.

[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

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511 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

Table 28.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Principal Groups of Cost of Living

Families having members of——*	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family in one month
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	
4 and under	7	3.4	2.74	13.74	5.21	5.85	3.54	8.61	36.97
Over 4	5	7.4	5.56	24.60	7.15	7.43	5.91	17.62	62.72
All families ..	12	5.1	3.92	18.27	6.02	6.51	4.53	12.37	47.70
	PER CENT								
4 and under	58.3	......	... .	37.2	14.1	15.8	9.6	23.3	100.0
Over 4	41.7	......	....	39.2	11.4	11.9	9.4	28.1	100.0
All families ...	100.0	......	....	38.3	12.6	13.7	9.5	25.9	100.0

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sisting of twelve items. which required $12.37, that is a little more than one quarter of the total expenditure. To clothing went $6.51 and to the house rent, $6.02, both combined representing more than one quarter of the total cost of living, while the fuel, light and water cost only $4.53, being less than 10 per cent of the total. It is noteworthy that of the miscellaneous group, the social expenses rose to as much as 5.7 per cent. This fact clearly shows that social intercourse has become an important function among the teachers. Sundries which include such items as paper, expenses for ancestral worship, payment of services, cost about $2.00, that is, 4.2 per cent of the total expenditure.

The expenses for primary necessities of life of the family of the elementary school teacher per month amounted on the average to $35.33, that is 74.1 per cent on its total expenditure.

It should be pointed out at this place that the figures for the various expenses mentioned in the above, in particular those for clothing, fuel and light, were all checked up by the yearly figures furnished by the teachers, since the data of the account books which were only confined to the month of November could hardly be considered as typical of the cost of living for the whole year.

When the expenditure of the two groups of families for the various items are considered separately, it will be observed that the amounts spent by the families of more than four members were greater than those spent by the families of smaller size. This is indeed quite natural, as an increase of family members would call for an increase of living expenses. But if the percentages for the various groups are studied, it will be found that the increase of the various amounts of expenditure was not at all uniform in all cases. In the families of greater size, it happened that the percentages for the expenses of food and miscellaneous items tended to increase whereas those for expenses on house rent, clothing and fuel, light and water all tended to decrease. That food expenses should rise with the growth of the size of the family is quite natural, as more members there are in a family, more food would be consumed by them. But the note-

Table 29.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Miscellaneous Items.

Families having members of—	Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	Postage	Total
4 and under...	.56	.81	.66	.54	.16	.99	.62	1.88	.05	1.02	1.21	.13	8.61
Over 4	1.35	1.65	1.19	.79	.99	1.64	1.34	3.88	.04	1.53	3.08	.14	17.60
All families	.89	1.15	.88	.64	.51	1.26	.92	2.71	.05	1.23	1.99	.14	12.37
	PER CENT ON TOTAL EXPENDITURE.												
4 and under...	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5	.4	2.7	1.7	5.1	.1	2.8	3.3	.4	23.3
Over 4	2.2	2.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.6	2.1	6.2	.1	2.4	4.9	.2	28.1
All families	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	.1	2.6	4.2	.3	25.9

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875 worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of ex-
511 penses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

875 Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the ele-
465 mentary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is
511 appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21.94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of 875
the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families 511
having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families hav- 465
ing an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save under very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our 875
budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined 262
to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year.

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	All families (12): Average quantity: Per family	All families (12): Average quantity: Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	All families (12): Average expenditure: Per family	All families (12): Average expenditure: Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Families purchasing: Number	Families purchasing: Average quantity per family	Families purchasing: Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
ALL CLASSES	237.16	66.98	16.032	4.528	12	237.16	16.032
Cereals etc.	117.36	33.14	9.806	2.769	12	117.36	9.806
Rice	34.05	9.61	3.423	.967	12	34.05	3.423
Rice, broken	1.33	.38	.103	.029	2	8.00	.617
Millet	6.86	1.93	.467	.132	6	13.71	.933
Rice, yellow	.17	.05	.013	.004	1	2.00	.153
Kaoliang	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Rice, glutinous	.08	.02	.012	.003	1	1.01	.142
Beans, yellow	.08	.02	.006	.002	1	1.00	.066
Beans, green	.12	.03	.006	.002	1	1.40	.077
Beans, red	.19	.05	.013	.004	3	.78	.051
Corn flour	24.68	6.97	1.206	.340	9	32.91	1.607
Millet flour	6.00	1.69	.406	.115	7	10.29	.695
Wheat flour, machine milled	35.91	10.14	3.341	.944	12	35.91	3.341
Buckwheat flour	.83	.24	.055	.015	3	3.33	.216

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home			
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Yellow rice flour	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.50	.055
Noodle, bean	.49	.14	.039	.011	4	1.48	.118
Noodle, dried	.16	.05	.028	.008	2	.96	.168
Bread, steamed	.13	.04	.012	.003	3	.53	.047
Cakes, wheaten	.25	.07	.015	.004	1	3.00	.186
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum	5.66	1.60	.589	.166	11	6.17	.643
Bread	.23	.07	.062	.017	3	.93	.247
Vegetables etc.	88.13	24.89	1.774	.501	12	88.13	1.774
Chinese cabbage	51.53	14.55	.565	.160	12	51.53	.565
Sauerkraut	6.89	1.95	.076	.021	10	8.28	.091
Turnips, salted	2.80	.79	.138	.039	11	3.06	.151
Ke-ts, salted	.75	.21	.049	.014	1	9.00	.592
Peppers, green, salted	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce ...	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.20	.044
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)	.98	.28	.032	.009	3	3.94	.130

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Spinach	.63	.18	.051	.014	7	1.07	.088
Sweet potatoes	5.97	1.69	.098	.028	10	7.17	.118
Yam	.16	.04	.008	.002	2	.95	.047
Turnips	4.14	1.17	.091	.026	11	4.51	.099
Carrots	1.39	.39	.015	.004	3	5.58	.061
Green bean sprouts	3.51	.99	.067	.019	9	4.68	.090
Peas	.02	(1)	(1)	(1)	1	.20	.005
Kidney beans	.30	.08	.008	.002	1	3.60	.099
Broad beans, fresh	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Bean-curd	3.11	.88	.102	.029	10	3.73	.123
Bean-curd, green, fresh	.57	.16	.011	.003	3	2.28	.044
Bean-curd, preserved	.06	.02	.008	.002	2	.35	.049
Bean-curd, smoked	.16	.05	.022	.006	7	.28	.037
Bean-curd, smoked, thin	.05	.01	.003	.001	2	.27	.021
Vermicelli, dried	.25	.07	.055	.015	5	.58	.131
Vermicelli, fresh	.10	.03	.017	.005	4	.30	.052

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home			
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Bean-curd, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bean, lamina	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.027
Bean-curd, cheese	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.21	.055
Bean-curd, green, dried	.31	.09	.020	.006	3	1.22	.080
Wheaten starch	.05	.01	.009	.002	4	.16	.026
Celery	.27	.08	.007	.002	3	1.07	.029
Coriander	.16	.04	.014	.004	8	.24	.021
Salted cabbage, dried	.02	.01	.003	.001	3	.08	.014
Ke-te roots, fresh	1.11	.31	.110	.031	1	13.33	1.320
Kaoliang shoots	.04	.01	.007	.002	1	.50	.082
Sea moss	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.01	.016
Yu-tsai (vegetable)	.38	.11	.008	.002	4	1.13	.025
Onions	1.70	.48	.061	.017	12	1.70	.061
Garlic	.13	.04	.016	.005	10	.16	.019
Allium adorum	.28	.08	.049	.014	8	.42	.073
Peppers, green	.02	.01	.004	.001	5	.06	.001

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Lily flowers, dried	.04	.01	.015	.004	7	.07	.025
Fungi	(1)	(1)	.002	.001	1	.02	.027
Mushrooms	.02	.01	.009	.003	3	.08	.036
Seaweeds, long	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.17	.022
Condiments	11.49	3.24	1.581	.444	12	11.49	1.581
Sesamum oil	1.82	.51	.517	.146	12	1.82	.517
Lard	.70	.20	.291	.082	11	.76	.318
Mutton fat	.13	.04	.027	.008	2	.75	.165
Salt	2.64	.75	.202	.057	12	2.64	.202
Soy paste	2.73	.77	.209	.059	12	2.73	.209
Sesamum paste	.06	.02	.010	.003	6	.12	.020
Soy sauce	1.34	.38	.117	.033	12	1.34	.117
Vinegar	.99	.28	.043	.012	12	.99	.043
Sugar, white	.47	.13	.093	.026	10	.56	.111
Sugar, brown	.08	.02	.013	.004	1	.91	.159

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure				
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pepper, black, ground	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.01	.007
Pepper, red	.02	(1)	.008	.002	8	.02	.013
Aniseed star	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	3	.01	.005
Ginger	.11	.03	.014	.004	9	.14	.019
Mustard	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	2	.05	.007
Bean starch	.16	.04	.021	.006	5	.38	.050
Anise	.22	.06	.006	.002	3	.07	.025
Black pepper	(1)	(1)	.002	(2)	2	.01	.010
Shrimp sauce	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.08	.016
Cassia flower, sugar preserved	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.03	.011
Beans, salted	.01	(1)	.002	(2)	1	.11	.019
Rice wine	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.12	.016
Meats etc.	7.58	2.14	1.909	.540	12	7.58	1.909
Mutton...	3.91	1.10	.856	.242	11	4.26	.934
Mutton, boiled	.02	(1)	.009	.003	1	.18	.110

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home			
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Pork	1.88	.53	.578	.163	12	1.88	.578
Pork, boiled	.34	.10	.224	.063	7	.59	.385
Beef	.59	.17	.116	.033	6	1.18	.232
Fish	.19	.05	.020	.006	4	.58	.060
Shrimps	.26	.07	.034	.010	10	.31	.041
Crabs	.08	.02	.008	.002	1	1.00	.099
Eggs	.09	.02	.039	.011	6	.18	.077
Eggs, duck's	.02	(1)	.004	.001	1	.19	.052
Milk	.06	.02	.014	.004	1	.68	.170
Intestines, sheep's	.15	.04	.007	.002	1	1.78	.088
Refreshments etc.	12.61	3.56	.959	.272	12	12.61	.959
Fruits	3.45	.97	.305	.086	12	3.45	.305
Persimmons	2.03	.57	.111	.031	11	2.21	.121
Pears	.65	.18	.074	.021	5	1.55	.178
Apples	.08	.02	.026	.007	4	.24	.078
Cherry-apples	.27	.08	.024	.007	4	.82	.072

Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of Food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—*(Continued)*

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Average quantity per family	Average quantity per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home			
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Haw fruits	.04	.01	.005	.001	2	.25	.028
Dates	.10	.03	.010	.003	3	.40	.040
Black dates	.07	.02	.004	.001	2	.43	.026
Lotus seeds	.01	(1)	.004	.001	1	.07	.047
Grapes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.13	.022
Bananas	.15	.04	.042	.012	2	.89	.256
Water chestnut	.04	.01	.003	.001	1	.50	.038
Others	9.17	2.59	.654	.186	11	10.00	.713
Doughnuts	.42	.12	.088	.025	9	.56	.118
Doughnuts, sugar-coated	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.09	.016
Honey-cakes	.01	(1)	.002	.001	1	.11	.027
Glutinous rice cake	.01	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.06	.014
Green bean-curd, fried	(1)	(1)	.001	(2)	1	.04	.011
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut)	.13	.04	.023	.006	2	.78	.137
Meat dumpling, fried	.06	.02	.010	.003	1	.68	.121
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed	.03	.01	.003	.001	2	.17	.017
Beef suet	.03	.01	.006	.002	2	.16	.033

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Table 29.—Average Quantity of and Expenditure for Specified Articles of food Consumed by 12 Teachers' Families in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.—(*Continued*)

Classes and articles of food	All families (12)				Families purchasing		
	Average quantity		Average expenditure		Number	Average quantity per family	Average expenditure per family
	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home	Per family	Per equivalent adult male taking meals at home			
	catties	*catties*	$	$		*catties*	$
Rice flour cake	.02	.01	.002	.001	1	.27	.027
Steamed bread	.04	.01	.004	.001	1	.48	.044
Sa-chi-ma (pastry)	.24	.07	.037	.010	1	2.86	.438
Bean soup	3.81	1.08	.007	.002	2	22.86	.044
Bean whey	.27	.08	.006	.002	2	1.63	.036
Almond soup	.45	.13	.012	.004	3	1.47	.049
Lily root flour	.04	.01	.008	.002	3	.14	.031
Candies	.20	.06	.040	.011	3	.79	.159
Jam	.03	.01	.009	.003	1	.34	.110
Dumplings, rice flour	.09	.03	.020	.006	2	.54	.118
Peanuts	1.45	.41	.127	.036	12	1.45	.127
Melon seeds	.01	(1)	.003	.001	2	.05	.017
Chestnuts	1.17	.33	.180	.051	9	1.56	.239
Fruit candy	.13	.04	.023	.007	4	.39	.069
Boiled sweet potatoes	.50	.14	.022	.006	1	5.94	.260
Dates, dried	.02	(1)	.005	.001	1	.20	.055
Walnuts	.03	.01	.014	.004	1	.31	.164

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[1] Less than 0.005 catty, or 2.8 grams.

[2] Less than $0.0005, or about two-tenths of a copper.

875 262 and salted, beancurd, garlics, lard, sugar, mutton, and persimmons seemed also quite popular. In terms of expenditure, the percentages for the various kinds of food articles were distributed as follows:—

Cereals	61.2	Vegetables	11.1	Condiments	9.9
Meats	11.9	Refreshment	6.0		

Wheat flour and rice formed the chief cereals for the teachers, while corn flour, though occupying the third place, was left far behind. In fact, the former two, including all varieties of food made with them, formed almost half of their food expenses. Of the vegetables, the Chinese cabbage figured most prominently, as it is, comparatively speaking, less expensive, being grown in abundance in the winter and consequently most popular among the Peking inhabitants of all classes. Sauerkraut is another popular food among the Peking inhabitants, while sweet potatoes are taken generally for breakfast or as refreshments. Sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar and occasionally lard are all ingredients, indispensable in cooking Chinese dishes. Mutton and pork formed the chief meat for the teachers, and the expenses for the meat group reached almost 12 per cent of the total food expenditure. The persimmon was no doubt a popular fruit among the teachers' families, while peanuts and chestnuts also found wide favour.

875 494 262 Compared with the foods consumed by the working families,[1] those of the teachers' families presented several striking features. In the first place, although the total number of the kinds of food articles consumed by the two classes of families were practically the same—136 for the workers in six months and 134 for the teachers in one month—some disparity could be noticed in such groups as cereals, vegetables and condiments. The teachers consumed twenty kinds of cereals, boiled and in the forms of noodles, bread and cakes, as against the workers who consumed thirty-one kinds of the same. More varieties of vegetables and condiments were consumed by the teachers than by the workers; 43 kinds of vegetables for the teachers as against 39 for the workers, and 22 kinds of condiments for the teachers as against

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[1] [see Table 16, p. 96]

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Table 30.—Average Food Consumption Per Equivalent Adult Per Day in 12 Teachers' Families.

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Average quantity				Average fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Cereals:	$ .092	621.78	62.82	12.55	460.18	2,204.40
Wheat [1] ...	*.038*	*224.36*	*24.94*	*3.85*	*157.71*	*765.70*
Rice [2]	*.033*	*189.00*	*18.02*	*.40*	*150.57*	*678.52*
Corn [3]	*.011*	*130 75*	*11.77*	*5.62*	*94.80*	*477.25*
Millet [4] ...	*.008*	*68.11*	*6.58*	*2.24*	*51.15*	*250.91*
Others ...	*.001*	*9.56*	*1.52*	*.43*	*5.96*	*32.01*
Vegetables ...	.017	466.92	9.19	1.27	17.60	119.93
Condiments ...	.015	60.86	3.01	15.66	3.64	167.82
Meats	.018	40.14	6.36	13.26	.04	149.18
Refreshments:	.009	66.83	2.95	4.50	11.99	101.10
Fruits ...	*.003*	*18.26*	*.13*	*.05*	*2.44*	*10.80*
Others ...	*.006*	*48.57*	*2.81*	*4.45*	*9.55*	*90.30*
All Classes ...	151	1,256.54	84.34	47.24	493.46	2,742.43

PER CENT.

Class of Food	Average expenditure	Total	Protein	Fats	Carbohydrates	Average fuel value
Cereals:	61.2	49.5	74.5	26.6	93.3	80.4
Wheat [1] ...	*25.2*	*17.9*	*29.6*	*8.2*	*32.0*	*27.9*
Rice [2]	*22.2*	*15.0*	*21.4*	*.8*	*30.5*	*24.7*
Corn [3]	*7.5*	*10.4*	*14.0*	*11.9*	*19.2*	*17.4*
Millet [4] ...	*5.5*	*5.4*	*7.8*	*4.7*	*10.4*	*9.1*
Others ...	*.8*	*.8*	*1.8*	*.9*	*1.2*	*1.2*
Vegetables ...	11.1	37.2	10.9	2.7	3.6	4.4
Condiments ...	9.9	4.8	3.6	33.1	.7	6.1
Meats	11.9	3.2	7.5	28.1	([5])	5.4
Refreshments:	6.0	5.3	3.5	9.5	2.4	3.7
Fruits ...	*1.9*	*1.5*	*.2*	*.1*	*.5*	*.4*
Others ...	*4.1*	*3.9*	*3.3*	*9.4*	*1.9*	*3.3*
All Classes ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including all varieties of wheat flour and their products.
[2] Including all varieties of rice.
[3] Including corn flour.
[4] Including millet flour and millet
[5] Less than 0.05 per cent.

17 kinds for the workers. Comparatively speaking, it seems that 875
the teachers enjoyed a greater variety of "subsidiary food" taken 494
as side dishes. Secondly, in contrast with the workers who took 262
millet flour and corn flour as their principal cereals, the teachers mainly subsisted on wheat flour and rice, both of which are not only much more refined and easily digestible but yield more proteids to the consumer. Thirdly, the teachers' diet contained an appreciably greater quantity of meat and fish. Reduced to the average quantity of consumption per equivalent adult per day, the teacher consumed 40.14 grams of articles of the meat group as against 7.23 grams consumed by the worker.

What may be considered as the most striking feature of the 875
teachers' diet as contrasted with that of the worker is undoubted- 146
ly that it has improved in quality as well as in quantity. As 494
shown in Table 30 the average amount of food consumption of the teacher per equivalent adult per day was 1,256 grams as against the worker's 998 grams. The distribution of the food expenses of both the teacher and the worker among the various classes of food may be shown in percentages like the following:

	Cereals	Vegetables	Condiments	Meats	Refreshments	Total
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
The teacher ...	61.2	11.1	8.9	11.9	6.0	100
The worker ...	80.0	9.1	6.7	3.2	1.0	100

That the teachers' diet is much improved is abundantly shown in the nutrients and calories it may yield. The 1,256 grams of food might be transformed into 84.34 grams of protein, 47.24 grams of fats and 493.46 grams of carbohoydrates. Their fuel value amounted to 2,742 calories. Compared with the workers' diet, these showed some increase in proteins and fats, and a slight decrease in carbohydrates; while in calories there was a gain of 147.

One fact worthy of attention is that the consumption of 875
pungent and odoriferous articles showed no abatement among the 262

875 teachers' families. It has been maintained by us that these
262 articles are generally taken in order to stimulate appetite and serve as substitutes for delicacies. It is possible that the diet of the teacher was not sufficiently savory so that foods with a strong smell and an acrid taste were required to add to its palatability. It is, however, also possible that the consumption of such pungent and odoriferous food-stuffs was due to the fact that they have become accustomed to take them regularly, as many of the northern Chinese are. In the latter case, the consumption is then determined by their food habits, rather than by necessity in food economy.

875 Housing. Only the housing conditions of ten teachers' fami-
362 lies will be discussed, as two of them failed to furnish us complete data on housing. Of the ten families, five had three rooms each. There were on the average 5.2 persons or 4 equivalent adults in each family. Calculated according to the average number of persons per room, it will be seen in Table 31 that in each room there lived 1.3 persons or one equivalent adult. The average amount of rent per family was $6.00 a month.

Table 31.—Average Number of Equivalent Adults Per Room and Average Amount Paid for Rent in One Month

No. of rooms	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family		Average no. of persons per room		Average amount of rent in one month		
		Persons	Equi. adults	Persons	Equi. adults	Per family	Per persons	Per equi. adult
1 ..	1	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.8	$2.00	$1.00	$1.11
2...	1	3.0	2.8	1.5	1.4	4.00	1.33	1.43
3...	5	4.8	3.6	1.6	1.2	5.20	1.08	1.44
5 ..	2	5.5	4.6	1.1	.9	7.50	1.36	1.63
11...	1	12.0	8.1	1.1	.7	13.00	1.08	1.60
Total...	10	5.2	4.0	1.3	1.0	6.00	1.15	1.50

It is evident that the housing of the teacher's families compared favourably with that of the Peking workers. As they had on the average one equivalent adult per room, they were certainly

not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be 875
added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms 362
without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher.

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school 875
teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from 511
those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some

875 amusement and some expenditures for self development."[1]

511 The elementary school teacher has an extremely important function to perform in this country. China is now gradually emerging from mediaevalism; the stupendous changes in every phase of life that took western nations centuries she is to recapitulate in decades. In this ever quickening process of evolution, the services of the elementary school teacher, in particular, will be found invaluable. For it lies mainly in his hand that the growing minds of the younger generation are properly cared for. And it is he, amongst others, that will be instrumental in developing generations of men and women into efficient members of our Republic as well as of the modern world. When the function of the teacher is conceived in this light, it is clear that, even though he is paid regularl and in full every month, his standard of living, as is represented in our inquiry, is still far from adequate.

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[1] These levels are suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics. See "Tentative Cost and Quantity Budget." *Monthly Labour Review*, Dec., 1919.

APPENDIX I.

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	—	49.023	—	—	49.023	9.343	.200	—	—	—	58.566
2	56.223	.891	—	—	57.114	3.840	.132	—	6.326	—	67.412
3	.651	1.825	58.734	—	61.210	6.114	.106	—	.530	—	67.960
4	69.694	1.692	—	—	71.386	1.890	—	—	—	—	73.476
5	63.958	—	—	7.205	71.163	2.890	.106	—	—	—	74.159
6	62.341	10.822	—	—	73.163	2.264	.531	—	—	—	75.958
7	53.076	9.601	5.302	—	67.979	2.951	.965	—	6.400	—	78.295
8	64.102	3.146	—	—	67.248	11.195	.159	—	—	—	78.602
9	42.388	18.007	1.553	—	61.948	15.318	1.930	—	—	—	79.196
10	70.527	6.317	—	—	76.844	4.401	—	—	—	.056	81.301
11	60.836	.357	.074	—	61.267	18.447	.685	—	1.440	—	81.799
12	—	7.936	74.017	—	81 953	1.890	—	—	—	—	83.843
13	69.281	8.941	3.570	—	81.792	2.257	.663	—	—	—	84.712
14	69.546	5.981	—	—	75.527	9.624	—	—	—	.056	85.207
15	77.379	6.081	—	—	83.460	2.368	.500	—	—	.133	86.461
16	71.034	13.187	—	—	84.221	2.257	.584	—	—	.056	87.118
17	67.981	9.580	5.915	—	83.476	3.010	.650	—	—	—	87.136

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12
APPENDIX 1
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5: Tao F-5 (1916-1927) 1918

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APPENDIX I.—*(Continued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	67.540	6.601	—	—	74.141	13.155	—	—	—	—	87.296
19	62.677	14.780	—	—	77.457	10.618	—	—	—	—	88.075
20	67.325	3.171	—	—	70.496	21.890	.600	—	—	—	92.986
21	80.490	8.074	—	—	88.564	7.303	—	—	—	—	95.867
22	87.998	.263	6.189	—	94.450	3.310	—	—	—	—	97.760
23	74.731	6.844	—	—	81.575	16.614	.583	—	—	—	98.772
24	41.409	9.722	45.004	—	96.135	1.890	—	—	2.100	—	100.125
25	41.543	5.674	47.311	—	94.528	7.135	.106	—	—	—	101.769
26	92.197	7.797	—	—	99.994	2.225	—	—	—	.056	102.275
27	77.952	.202	11.567	—	89.721	13.550	.398	—	—	—	103.669
28	8.721	39.256	38.200	—	86.177	16.440	—	—	1.993	—	104.610
29	71.283	.386	28.465	—	100.134	1.890	3.000	—	—	—	105.024
30	—	13.691	88.521	—	102.212	2.357	1.260	—	—	—	105.829
31	87.073	11.607	5.113	—	103.793	2.522	.531	—	—	—	106.846
32	13.999	13.474	75.858	2.687	106.018	2.375	.898	—	1.300	—	110.591
33	69.130	32.134	5.794	—	107.058	3.759	1.471	—	.138	—	112.426
34	47.904	5.225	54.551	.902	108.582	2.224	1.247	—	—	—	112.053

APPENDIX I.—*(Cotninued)*

Incomes of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Earnings of—				Total Earnings	Presents and Gifts	Relief	Rents	Disposal of Articles	Interests	Total Income
	Husband	Wife	Children	Others							
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	68.489	3.408	4.016	36.580	112.493	1.890	—	—	—	—	114.383
36	99.200	4.442	7.523	—	111.165	5.314	.600	—	—	—	117.079
37	27.000	—	—	67.127	94.127	16.245	—	—	7.200	—	117.572
38	28.378	23.777	16.038	—	68.193	1.890	—	50.000 *	—	—	120.083
39	56.506	5.236	57.367	—	119.109	3.310	1.180	—	—	—	123.599
40	55.819	6.163	64.250	—	126.232	2.605	.928	—	—	—	129.765
41	92.773	2.204	—	22.000	116.977	13.607	.800	—	—	—	131.384
42	97.658	.080	9.389	—	107.127	2.319	.500	26.100 §	—	—	136.046
43	97.076	7.729	.456	—	105.261	2.391	1.115	28.000 §	—	—	136.767
44	70.998	36.580	—	29.830	137.408	2.690	.100	—	—	—	140.198
45	64.786	3.840	59.850	4.627	133.103	4.418	4.616	—	—	—	142.137
46	91.477	7.813	31.096	—	130.386	9.869	—	11.100 §	—	—	151.355
47	71.480	—	82.360	—	153.840	2.284	—	—	—	—	156.124
48	3.592	—	176.683	—	180.275	2.309	.133	--	—	—	182.717

* Rent from land of about 100 *mow* (about 6.14 hectares).

§ Rent from a ricksha.

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APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II.

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	33.254	6.000	1.878	10.855	.690	.053	—	.063	—	—	.180	—	.795	.080	—	3.046	56.894
2	46.876	9.000	.667	9.011	1.154	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	.119	—	—	4.581	71.419
3	63.117	9.000	.556	9.236	1.287	.003	—	.032	.045	.011	—	—	.106	—	—	2.141	85.534
4	61.045	6.000	.932	6.290	.868	—	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	—	—	.070	75.216
5	54.855	9.000	3.213	8.656	1.019	.008	—	—	—	.005	.340	—	—	—	—	.069	77.165
6	38 933	8.400	1.322	8.041	.528	.024	—	—	.016	—	1.040	—	—	.032	—	.632	58.968
7	59.076	7.200	3.429	10.382	.504	.093	—	—	011	—	.175	—	—	—	—	.497	81.367
8	51.252	9.000	7.449	8.749	.968	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.708	80.126
9	59.061	8.400	3.109	8.335	.544	.122	—	—	.072	—	.902	—	.227	.032	—	.806	81 610
10	51.802	8.400	3.894	11.437	1.013	.125	—	—	.112	.027	1.159	—	.265	.021	—	1.454	79.709
11	72.966	9.000	.200	9.857	.992	—	—	—	—	—	.029	—	—	—	—	1.454	94.496
12	67.731	4.080	2.450	7.066	.956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.027	82.310
13	48.115	8.400	6.674	9.859	.673	.008	—	—	.123	.048	1.146	—	.159	.048	—	.804	76.057
14	56.922	8.400	5.192	11.016	.780	.005	.159	—	.063	.067	2.284	.127	.318	.032	—	.324	85.689
15	51.102	6.000	4.741	10.929	.892	.070	—	.202	.417	.049	.812	—	.583	—	—	2.697	78.494
16	52.542	8.400	7.717	11.055	.769	.074	—	.106	.101	.059	1.000	—	.490	.032	—	1.026	83.361
17	57.558	9.600	3.945	10.084	.852	.800	—	.212	.217	.064	1.152	—	—	.032	—	.300	84.816

APPENDIX II.—*(Continued)*

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	78.073	7.200	13'582	13.295	.860	.886	.090	—	.566	2.429	9.579	.080	2.016	—	.875	4.677	134.208
19	54.336	6.000	7.599	8.717	.658	.016	.074	.382	.011	—	.065	.032	.265	—	—	.554	78 709
20	58.302	6.000	11.289	9.116	814	—	—	.212	.039	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.664	86.453
21	64.997	6.900	7.963	7.862	1.067	4.505	—	—	.042	—	.417	—	—	—	—	.334	94.081
22	72.382	7.200	3.448	11.455	.629	.082	—	—	.186	.021	1.018	.111	—	.011	—	.562	97.105
23	68.534	8.400	6.039	9.891	1.414	.040	—	.239	.069	.142	.695	—	.133	.021	—	—	95.617
24	79.339	7.200	4.215	10.656	.356	.005	—	—	—	.014	.178	—	—	—	—	.069	102.032
25	78.599	9.000	4.623	8.990	1.186	.003	—	—	.021	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.160	102.609
26	65.064	8 400	7.572	11.470	1.000	.401	—	—	.019	.024	.918	—	—	.032	—	1.371	96.271
27	79.232	6.000	3.728	12.373	1.512	.537	.080	—	.184	.016	1.136	.212	—	—	—	.049	105.059
28	76.296	7.159	6.826	9.523	.690	1.954	.332	—	.227	.138	2.719	—	2 085	.634	—	.439	109.022
29	94.293	6.000	1.013	8.107	.881	—	—	—	.005	—	.054	—	—	—	—	1.974	112.327
30	64 283	8.400	2.775	11.343	1.392	.047	—	—	.069	.106	1.019	—	—	.037	—	—	89.471
31	66.454	8.400	10.534	11.133	.722	.030	—	—	.072	.048	1.780	—	.665	.053	—	1.013	100.904
32	67.749	8.400	11.442	11.772	1.414	570	—	.016	.364	.260	1.308	—	.477	.032	—	.262	104.066
33	74.628	8.400	7.442	9.959	.640	1.468	—	—	.083	.027	1.197	—	.159	.032	—	.282	104.317
34	59.684	8.400	11.393	10.973	.879	.305	—	.212	—	.016	2.033	—	.069	.043	—	—	94.007

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APPENDIX II.—(*Continued*)

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	94.793	7.200	3.573	10.303	.997	—	—	—	—	.011	011	—	—	—	—	.102	116.990
36	92.040	6 000	7.667	10.077	1.844	.008	.610	.526	.005	.100	1.380	—	—	—	.069	3.509	123.835
37	99.862	15.000	2.956	12.441	1.627	1.204	—	—	.592	.032	1.205	—	2.281	—	—	3.593	140.793
38	60.491	7.800	7.509	14.569	.432	.106	—	—	—	.040	.551	—	—	—	—	.070	91.571
39	84.302	1.765	8.350	13.608	1.756	.196	—	—	—	—	.692	—	—	—	—	.127	110.796
40	70.627	8.400	17.651	14.205	.751	.483	—	—	.049	.027	1.146	—	.372	.032	—	1.091	114.834
41	113.201	9.000	7.596	9.536	1.265	.340	—	.327	.085	.179	.257	—	—	—	—	1.791	143.577
42	85.731	7.200	8.070	12.400	.731	.167	—	.085	.202	.027	.862	—	.743	.032	—	2.306	118.606
43	75.276	8.400	15.637	13.283	.995	4.149	—	—	.130	.011	1.464	—	.106	.032	—	2.411	121.894
44	123.729	6.000	6.000	7.358	.906	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	—	.435	144.481
45	116.130	7.400	6.822	11.669	.268	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	.212	—	—	.999	143.553
46	108 520	8 400	10.488	8.800	.619	2.501	.053	—	.199	—	1.645	—	.106	.032	—	1.635	143.298
47	103.209	6.000	19.997	14.789	.767	.186	—	—	.455	—	1.104	—	.886	—	—	.231	147.624
48	111.181	6.000	31.835	15.164	1.600	.011	—	—	.111	.209	1.395	—	.530	—	—	.446	168.482

APPENDIX III.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
ALL CLASSES	48	23,820,886	1,809,790	706,152	12,050,913	61,895,025
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	48	15,893,623	1,597,623	470,797	11,680,942	57,424,997
Rice (白米)	47	443,419	42,568	887	352,961	1,590,100
Rice, broken (碎白米)	45	390,538	30,853	1,562	319,851	1,448,897
Millet (小米)	48	1,027,785	99,284	33,814	771,867	3,786,361
Rice, yellow (黃米)	3	8,515	823	80	6,548	30,212
Kaoliang (高粱)	37	288,925	39,005	10,546	203,692	1,065,554
Kaoliang and beans mixed (高粱穇豆)	1	1,632	429	171	783	6,398
Beans, small (小豆)	3	6,343	1,161	84	4,002	21,394
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	4	1,362	534	237	346	5,654
Beans, green (綠豆)	1	51	11	1	33	181
Beans, light green (青豆)	2	473	157	85	131	1,911
Beans, red (紅豇豆)	24	9,613	2,172	206	5,614	33,019
Grains, mixed (雜豆米)	9	16,546	2,498	496	11,218	59,302
Corn flour (玉米麵)	48	5,345,232	481,071	229,845	3,875,293	19,510,098
Corn flour, coarse (玉米渣)	48	334,078	30,735	6,347	251,895	1,219,385
Millet flour (小米麵)	48	3,624,663	350,142	119,614	2,722,122	13,353,258
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	10	162,115	18,481	1,621	121,262	573,885
Wheat flour, hand milled (伏地白麵)	48	2,261,527	274,776	30,531	1,644,130	7,960,576

APPENDIX III.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value *(calories)*
		Total *(grams)*	Protein *(grams)*	Fats *(grams)*	Carbohydrates *(grams)*	
Wheat flour, coarse (泥麵)	13	42,570	5,172	575	30,949	149,847
Wheat flour, with bran (黑麵) ...	25	714,193	92,131	12,141	504,220	2,492,534
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	47	947,378	82,422	15,158	721,902	3,353,719
Wild oats flour (莜麥麵)	2	10,586	1,292	455	6,129	33,770
Green been flour (綠豆麵)	12	19,850	4,429	218	12,883	71,103
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	8	18,454	1,785	173	14,191	65,476
Yellow bean flour (黃豆麵)	1	124	49	22	31	514
Noodle, bean (雜麵)...	39	142,146	28,714	2,274	63,682	390,192
Noodle, fresh (切麵)	6	3,940	319	26	2,220	10,377
Noodle, dried (掛麵)	8	1,705	191	2	1,181	5,691
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	9	8,543	675	60	4,443	21,017
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	4	2,195	167	36	1,093	5,369
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	40	53,443	5,237	3,367	23,515	145,366
Bread, corn flour (玉米麵餅)	5	5,679	341	162	2,754	13,839
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	48	5,901,075	113,555	13,489	290,535	1,744,609
Chinese cabbage (白菜)...	48	3,095,822	37,459	1,857	58,821	411,744
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	42	165,480	2,813	827	6,288	46,334
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	48	230,984	9,701	92	—	39,729
Ke-te, salted (醃水咯噠)	46	122,240	2,689	86	—	11,527
Leaves of *ke-te*, salted (醃咯噠纓)	40	83,176	1,913	91	—	8,401

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Chinese cabbage, salted (醃白菜)...	10	2,882	35	2	55	383
Egg-plant, salted (醃茄子)	6	844	10	3	42	245
Peppers, green, salted[3] (醃辣椒) ...	7	405	—	—	—	—
Vegetables, salted (醬菜)	7	2,015	85	2	—	347
Spinach (菠菜)	48	384,679	6,155	769	6,155	55,009
Sweet potatoes (白薯)	46	1,093,610	14,654	1,094	177,165	773,183
Taro (芋頭)	1	366	6	(3)	43	199
Yam (山藥)	1	805	18	1	158	707
Turnips (蘿蔔)	42	61,964	1,053	12	1,797	11,587
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	19	25,230	313	35	2,447	11,354
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	24	92,474	2,959	92	3,606	26,817
Yellow bean sprouts (黃豆芽)... ...	47	164,169	14,939	2,627	9,029	119,022
Light green beans, sprouted (青豆嘴)	14	4,621	531	162	282	4,713
Bean-curd (豆腐)	48	153,824	12,921	4,615	2,154	101,678
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐) ...	12	10,513	946	45	347	5,572
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	1	23	2	1	(3)	15
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	11	2,009	420	191	137	3,940
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	1	79	16	7	5	155
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	24	7,086	43	5	5,761	23,269
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	17	653	—	—	66	268
Bean-curd, green, dried (餹筋) ...	8	2,943	615	280	200	5,772
Celery (芹菜)	2	1,024	13	1	8	95

APPENDIX III.—(Continued)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (calories)
		Total (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fats (grams)	Carbohydrates (grams)	
Coriander[2] (香菜)	33	2,842	—	—	—	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	1	17	(3)	(3)	(3)	2
Onions (葱)	48	136,698	2,187	410	13,533	66,982
Garlics (蒜)	44	5,988	78	12	563	2.641
Allium adorum (韮菜)	44	40,595	852	162	1,340	10,230
Flowers of allium adorum (韮菜花)	18	1,441	33	1	—	146
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	28	1,176	—	—	—	—
Green pepper paste[2] (辣椒糊) ...	3	546	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黃花)	6	107	14	2	63	325
Fungi (木耳)	4	23	3	(3)	14	70
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	2	28	11	(3)	—	47
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	9	1,694	66	2	456	2,101
Condiments (調和類)	48	696,560	35,068	155,146	30,731	1,661,988
Sesamum oil (香油)...	48	119,426	—	119,426	—	1,074,835
Mutton fat (羊油)	39	5,735	—	5,735	—	51,614
Lard (猪油)	28	8,121	—	8,121	—	73,091
Salt[2] (鹽)	48	284,822	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黃醬)	48	174,851	33,047	17,660	2,623	301,443
Sesamum paste (芝麻醬)...	44	7,412	1,490	3,928	1,097	45,695
Soy sauce (醬油)	32	13,473	323	—	—	1,293
Shrimp sauce[2] (蝦油)	1	321	—	—	—	—

5: Tao [illegible]-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX III.—(Continued)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value *(calories)*
		Total *(grams)*	Protein *(grams)*	Fats *(grams)*	Carbohydrates *(grams)*	
Vinegar[2] (醋)	48	52,008	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)...	12	3,568	—	—	2,954	12,096
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	39	22,681	—	—	21,547	88,228
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒麵) ...	13	68	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	41	484	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)	12	101	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	37	3,202	208	275	2,434	13,386
Mustard[2] (芥末)	6	152	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	3	135	—	—	76	306
Meats etc. (肉類)...	48	172,544	30,872	47,866	197	571,413
Mutton (羊肉)	48	74,622	11,641	23,058	—	262,668
Sheep's liver (羊肝)..	3	231	53	21	12	461
Sausage (羊灌腸)	1	805	121	24	1	703
Melange, mutton (羊雜碎)	1	141	23	6	1	145
Pork (猪肉)	29	35,687	3,355	22,019	—	218,048
Beef (牛肉)	37	34,162	6,559	1,947	—	43,796
Ox tongue (牛舌)	3	732	138	67	—	1,193
Melange, beef (牛雜碎)	4	5,425	770	271	22	5,642
Fish (魚)	1	2,020	378	26	22	1,798
Fresh-water snails (螺)	1	388	16	1	—	71
Shrimps (蝦米)	47	16,299	7,546	212	140	33,657
Eggs (雞蛋)	7	2,032	272	213	—	3,230

APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Refreshments etc. (閒食)	47	1,157,084	32,672	18,854	48,508	492,018
Fruits (水果)...	31	26,492	190	71	3,242	14,457
Persimmons (柿子)	26	13,586	82	14	1,223	5,335
Pears (梨)	4	1,812	9	7	230	1,033
Oranges (橘子)	2	1,075	6	1	91	398
Apples (蘋果)	2	276	1	1	30	135
Cherry-apples (海棠果)	12	2,696	3	3	356	1,456
Lily roots (藕)	1	158	3	(³)	15	73
Haw fruits (山査果)	6	4,953	25	10	—	183
Haw fruits, preserved in sugar (蜜餞紅果)	1	34	(³)	(³)	—	1
Dates (棗)	6	1,058	21	30	830	3,767
Black dates (黑棗)	2	523	32	4	305	1,384
Persimmons, dried (柿餅)	1	96	2	(³)	31	150
Plums (酸梅)	1	17	—	—	5	20
Apricot, dried (杏乾)	1	208	6	1	123	522
Others (其他)	47	1,130,592	32,482	18,783	45,266	477,561
Doughnuts (油條)	16	2,780	128	1,401	831	16,448
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	12	8,346	693	1,335	3,172	27,543
Dumplings, wheaten, boiled (餃子)	2	670	29	137	129	1,869
Bread, steamed, filled with sugar (糖三角)	3	377	23	2	238	1,061
Cakes, green bean (綠豆糕)	1	141	21	1	100	492

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APPENDIX III.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 48 Working Families[1] in 6 Months, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Cakes, glutinous rice (粘米糕) ...	8	10,282	545	123	5,964	27,145
Sponge cakes (雞蛋糕)	1	34	4	1	19	102
Bean soup (豆汁)	38	1,055,689	23,225	4,223	16,891	197,414
Bean whey (豆漿)	1	214	8	3	4	71
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	2	439	6	6	38	233
Beef suet (油茶)	1	794	543	322	357	4,542
Lily root flour (藕粉)	7	445	3	2	389	1,591
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵)	8	3,202	168	6	2,315	9,982
Moon cakes (月餅)	3	3,669	213	936	2,128	17,797
Kang-lu, (cake) (缸爐)	2	1,401	98	182	813	5,283
Honey-cakes (蜜供)...	3	3,574	307	27	2,005	9,492
Cakes, sundry (大八件)	2	2,381	136	607	1,381	11,522
Mixed nuts (雜拌)	4	1,587	362	453	405	7,149
Peanuts (花生)	43	29,215	5,697	8,502	5,405	120,950
Melon seeds (瓜子)	2	62	7	10	1	126
Walnuts (核桃)	1	585	108	377	76	4,261
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	2,786	145	125	986	5,795
Broad beans (蠶豆)	1	73	13	1	43	231
Candies (糖果)	10	1,576	—	—	1,576	6,461

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 131.77 adult equivalents in 181 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram.

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APPENDIX IV.

Expenditures of 12 Families of Elementary School Teachers in One Month.

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Postage	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	11.167	2.000	3.042	5.415	.348	—	.997	—	.534	—	2 603	.900	1.338	.055	.337	.167	.323	29.226
2	13.019	4.000	3.750	1.915	.077	—	.038	—	.129	—	.236	.200	.274	—	2.043	—	.279	25.960
3	11.207	4.500	5.250	1.236	.142	.132	1.740	—	.653	—	2.649	2.196	2.538	.100	.268	.118	3.515	36.244
4	12.697	5 000	3.333	3.340	.671	.156	.181	.099	.504	.121	.148	.211	1.100	.027	.225	.175	1.263	29.251
5	11.714	5.000	7.083	2.710	.170	.066	.104	.184	.236	.290	.164	.356	—	—	.307	.233	1.505	30.122
6	19.887	8.000	6.850	3.345	.548	—	.488	4.237	.929	.530	.285	—	4.200	.199	.044	—	1.351	50.893
7	16.523	8.000	11.667	4.658	.219	3.572	1.049	.121	.797	.188	.827	.500	3.730	—	3.898	.230	.203	57.082
8	21.331	4.250	6.600	3.463	.329	.580	3.085	.865	.505	.504	.782	2.856	6.099	.027	.884	—	2.551	54.711
9	17.793	5.000	6.833	4.153	.230	3.153	—	2.723	.832	—	.466	—	1.500	.100	3.665	.307	3.187	49.992
10	33.847	6.500	8.000	6.167	.630	.199	3.786	.318	1.337	.557	3.737	3.738	5.496	—	1.143	.227	3.592	79.274
11	22.702	13.000	8.500	3.725	.899	—	.921	.523	.159	3.203	—	—	2.316	.041	—	—	5.232	61.221
12	27 349	7.000	7.250	9.663	.274	2.809	.471	1.500	1.072	.709	3.227	.110	3.964	.027	1.970	.180	.838	68.413

APPENDIX V.

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity: Total (*grams*)	Quantity: Protein (*grams*)	Quantity: Fats (*grams*)	Quantity: Carbohydrates (*grams*)	Fuel value (*calories*)
ALL CLASSES	12	1,601,712	107,508	60,222	629,010	3,495,776
Cereals etc. (米麵類)	12	792,586	80,083	15,999	586,596	2,809,949
Rice (白米)	12	299,938	22,074	460	183,031	824,558
Rice, broken (碎白米)	2	9,005	711	36	7,375	33,409
Millet (小米)	6	46,296	4,472	1,523	34,768	170,554
Rice, yellow (黃米)	1	1,126	109	11	866	3,995
Kaoliang (高粱)	1	563	76	21	397	2,076
Rice, glutinous (粳米)	1	568	44	1	442	1,955
Beans, yellow (黃豆)	1	563	221	98	143	2,337
Beans, green (綠豆)...	1	788	176	9	511	2,823
Beans, red (紅豇豆)...	3	1,311	296	281	766	4,503
Corn flour (玉米麵)	9	166,673	15,001	7,167	120,838	608,356
Millet flour (小米麵)	7	40,522	3,914	1,337	30,432	149,283
Wheat flour, machine milled (機器白麵)	12	242,539	27,649	2,425	181,419	858,588
Buckwheat flour (蕎麥麵)	3	5,628	490	90	4,289	19,923
Yellow rice flour (黃米麵)	1	281	27	3	216	997
Noodle, bean (雜麵)...	4	3,332	673	53	1,493	9,146
Noodle, dried (掛麪)	2	1,081	121	14	748	3,607

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Bread, steamed (饅頭)	3	895	71	6	465	2,202
Cakes, wheaten (烙餅)	1	1,688	128	28	841	4,129
Cakes, wheaten, with sesamum (燒餅)	11	38,225	3,746	2,408	16,819	103,972
Bread (麵包)	3	1,565	84	28	737	3,536
Vegetables etc. (菜蔬類)	12	595,189	11,714	1,625	22,438	152,878
Chinese cabbage (白菜)	12	348,024	4,211	209	6,612	46,287
Sauerkraut (酸菜)	10	46,572	792	233	1,770	13,040
Turnips, salted (醃蘿蔔)	11	18,916	794	8	—	3,254
Ke-te, salted (醃水咯噠)	1	5,065	111	4	—	478
Peppers, green, salted[2] (醃辣椒) ...	1	68	—	—	—	—
Vegetables preserved in shrimp sauce (滷蝦菜)	1	113	4	(3)	4	35
Hsueh-li-hung (vegetable)(雪裏紅)	3	6,658	153	7	240	1,664
Spinach (菠菜)	7	4,221	68	8	68	604
Sweet potatoes (生白薯)	10	40,336	541	40	6,534	28,518
Yam (山藥)	2	1,064	23	1	209	935
Turnips (蘿蔔)	11	27,932	475	6	810	5,223
Carrots (胡蘿蔔)	3	9,427	117	13	914	4,242

APPENDIX V.—*(Continued)*

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value *(calories)*
		Total *(grams)*	Protein *(grams)*	Fats *(grams)*	Carbohydrates *(grams)*	
Green bean sprouts (綠豆芽)	9	23,716	759	24	925	6,878
Peas (豌豆)	1	113	28	1	65	379
Kidney beans (扁豆)	1	2,026	43	6	103	648
Broad beans, fresh (生蠶豆)	1	1,002	118	7	196	1,322
Bean-curd (豆腐)	10	21,009	1,765	630	294	13,887
Bean-curd, green, fresh (麻豆腐)...	3	3,855	347	17	127	2,043
Bean-curd, preserved (臭豆腐) ...	2	388	33	12	5	256
Bean-curd, smoked (豆腐乾)	7	1,103	231	105	75	2,163
Bean-curd, smoked, thin (豆腐絲)...	2	304	64	29	21	596
Vermicelli, dried (乾粉絲)	5	1,683	10	1	1,368	5,527
Vermicelli, fresh (水粉)	4	670	—	—	68	275
Bean-curd, lamina (千張)	1	73	15	5	3	121
Bean, lamina (粉皮)	1	73	(3)	(3)	64	259
Bean-curd, cheese (醬豆腐)	1	118	17	7	6	152
Bean-curd, green, dried (餡餅) ...	3	2,060	428	195	139	4,020
Wheaten starch (麵筋)	4	355	79	1	5	344
Celery (芹菜)	3	1,801	23	2	14	167
Coriander[2] (香菜)	8	1,075	—	—	—	—
Salted cabbage, dried (冬菜)... ...	3	129	2	(3)	2	17
Kete roots, fresh (芥菜頭)	1	7,502	90	—	195	1,125
Kaoliang shoots (高粱筷)	1	281	12	(3)	65	307
Sea moss (紫菜)	1	6	2	(3)	3	17

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Yu-tsai (vegetable) (油菜)	4	2,533	33	3	53	380
Onions (葱)	12	11,470	184	34	1,136	5,620
Garlics (蒜)	10	889	12	2	84	392
Allium adorum (韭菜)	8	1,880	39	8	62	474
Peppers, green[2] (辣椒)	5	158	—	—	—	—
Lily flowers, dried (黃花)	7	281	36	5	166	853
Fungi (木耳)	1	11	1	[3]	7	34
Mushrooms (蘑菇)	3	135	51	2	—	223
Seaweeds, long (海帶)	1	96	4	[3]	26	119
Condiments (調和類)	12	77,582	3,841		4,636	213,916
Sesamum oil (香油)	12	12,258	—	12,258	—	110,322
Lard (猪油)	11	4,722	—	4,722	—	42,498
Mutton fat (羊油)	2	844	—	844	—	7,596
Salt[2] (鹽)	12	17,846	—	—	—	—
Soy paste (黃醬)	12	18,432	3,484	1,862	276	31,777
Sesamum paste (芝蔴醬)...	6	388	78	206	57	2,392
Soy sauce (醬油)	12	9,022	217	—	—	866
Vinegar[2] (醋)	12	6,680	—	—	—	—
Sugar, white (白糖)	10	3,174	—	—	2,628	10,760

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Sugar, brown (黑糖)	1	512	—	—	486	1,992
Pepper, black, ground[2] (胡椒麵)	2	11	—	—	—	—
Pepper, red[2] (花椒)	8	107	—	—	—	—
Aniseed star[2] (大料)	3	11	—	—	—	—
Ginger (薑)	9	726	47	62	552	3,035
Mustard[2] (芥末)	2	56	—	—	—	—
Bean starch (團粉)	5	1,069	—	—	605	2,421
Anise[2] (茴香)	3	1,520	—	—	—	—
Black pepper[2] (胡椒)	2	11	—	—	—	—
Shrimp sauce (滷蝦)	1	45	3	(3)	2	23
Cassia flower, sugar preserved (桂花)	1	17	(3)	(3)	4	19
Beans, salted (豆豉)	1	62	12	4	15	143
Rice wine (料酒)	1	68	—	—	11	72
Meats etc. (肉類)	12	51,164	8,113	16,899	52	190,155
Mutton (羊肉)	11	26,373	4,114	8.149	—	92,833
Mutton, boiled (熟羊肉)	1	101	26	23	—	309
Pork (猪肉)	12	12,725	1,196	7,851	—	77,750
Pork, boiled (熟猪肉)	7	2,307	466	480	—	6,184
Beef (牛肉)	6	3,973	763	226	—	5,093

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APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Fish (魚)	4	1,306	244	17	14	1,162
Shrimps (蝦米)	10	1,733	802	33	15	3,579
Crabs (螃蟹)	1	563	247	1	—	906
Eggs (雞蛋)	6	591	79	62	—	940
Eggs, duck's (鴨蛋)	1	107	14	12	2	169
Milk (牛奶)	1	383	13	15	19	261
Intestines, sheep's (羊腸)	1	1,002	150	30	1	876
Refreshments etc. (閒食)	12	85,191	3,757	5,741	15,288	128,878
Fruits (水菓)	12	23,277	169	64	3,110	13,769
Persimmons (柿子)	11	13,704	82	14	1,233	5,382
Pears (梨)	5	4,356	22	17	553	2,483
Apples (蘋果)	4	535	2	2	59	262
Cherry-apples (海棠)	4	1,846	2	2	244	997
Haw fruits (山裏紅)	2	281	1	1	—	10
Dates (棗)	3	670	13	19	525	2,385
Black dates (黑棗)	2	484	30	4	282	1,280
Lotus seeds (蓮子)	1	39	6	1	28	145
Grapes (葡萄)	1	73	(3)	—	7	26

5: T2s E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

APPENDIX V.—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity: Total (*grams*)	Quantity: Protein (*grams*)	Quantity: Fats (*grams*)	Quantity: Carboyhdrates (*grams*)	Fuel value (*calories*)
Bananas (香蕉)	2	1,007	8	4	138	625
Water chestnut (荸薺)	1	281	3	—	41	174
Others (其他)	11	61,914	3,588	5,677	12,178	115,109
Doughnuts (油條)	9	2,865	132	1,444	857	16,949
Doughnuts, sugar-coated (蜜麻花)	1	51	3	10	33	239
Honey-cakes (蜜供)	1	62	5	(3)	35	165
Glutinous rice cake (年糕)	1	34	1	7	23	158
Green bean-curd, fried ([illegible]) ...	1	23	3	3	8	72
Tsa-pai-tsa (doughnut) (炸排叉) ...	2	878	83	226	468	4,232
Meat dumpling, fried (炸三角) ...	1	388	19	39	178	1,138
Dumplings, wheaten, steamed (包子)	2	186	15	30	71	614
Beef suet (油茶)	2	180	12	73	81	1,030
Rice flour cake (蜂糕)	1	152	9	1	96	429
Steamed bread (蒸餅)	1	270	21	2	140	664
Sa-chi-ma (pastry) (薩其馬)	1	1,610	113	280	934	6,712
Bean soup (豆汁)	2	25,726	566	103	412	4,811
Bean whey (豆漿)	2	1,829	68	22	37	611
Almond soup (杏仁茶)	3	3,039	43	43	264	1,611
Lily root flour (藕粉)	3	236	2	1	207	845
Candies (糖果)	3	1,339	—	—	1,339	5,492

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APPENDIX V—(*Continued*)

Total Quantity and Fuel Value of Food Consumed by 12 Families[1] of Elementary School Teachers in One Month, by Classes and Articles of Food.

Classes and articles of food	Number of families purchasing	Quantity				Fuel value (*calories*)
		Total (*grams*)	Protein (*grams*)	Fats (*grams*)	Carbohydrates (*grams*)	
Jam (果汁)	1	191	1	—	52	618
Dumplings, rice flour (元宵)	2	608	32	1	440	1,805
Peanuts (花生)	12	9,776	1,906	2 845	1,809	40,473
Melon seeds (瓜子) ...	2	51	6	8	1	104
Chestnuts (栗子)	9	7,902	411	356	2,797	16,436
Fruit candy (糖葫蘆)	4	889	4	1	384	1,556
Boiled sweet potatots (熟白薯)	1	3,343	100	70	1,407	6,653
Dates, dried (蜜棗)	1	113	1	(3)	82	335
Walnuts (核桃)	1	174	32	112	23	1,267

The figures for protein, etc. in this table were calculated according to the data on food value kindly supplied by Prof. Hsien Wu of Peking Union Medical College.

[1] That is, by 42.49 adult equivalents in 30 days.

[2] Negligible, according to Prof. Hsien Wu.

[3] Less than 0.5 gram